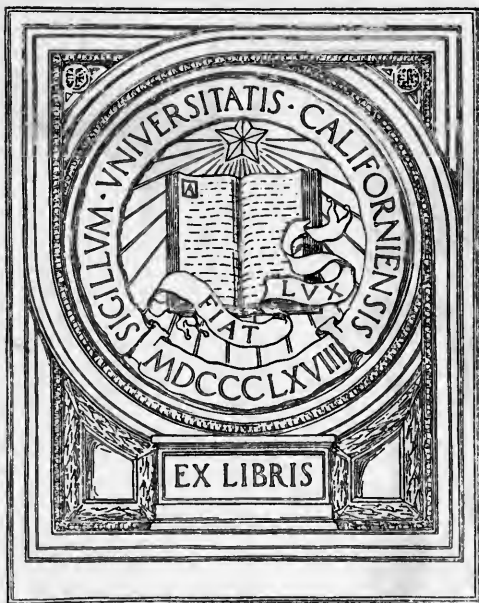
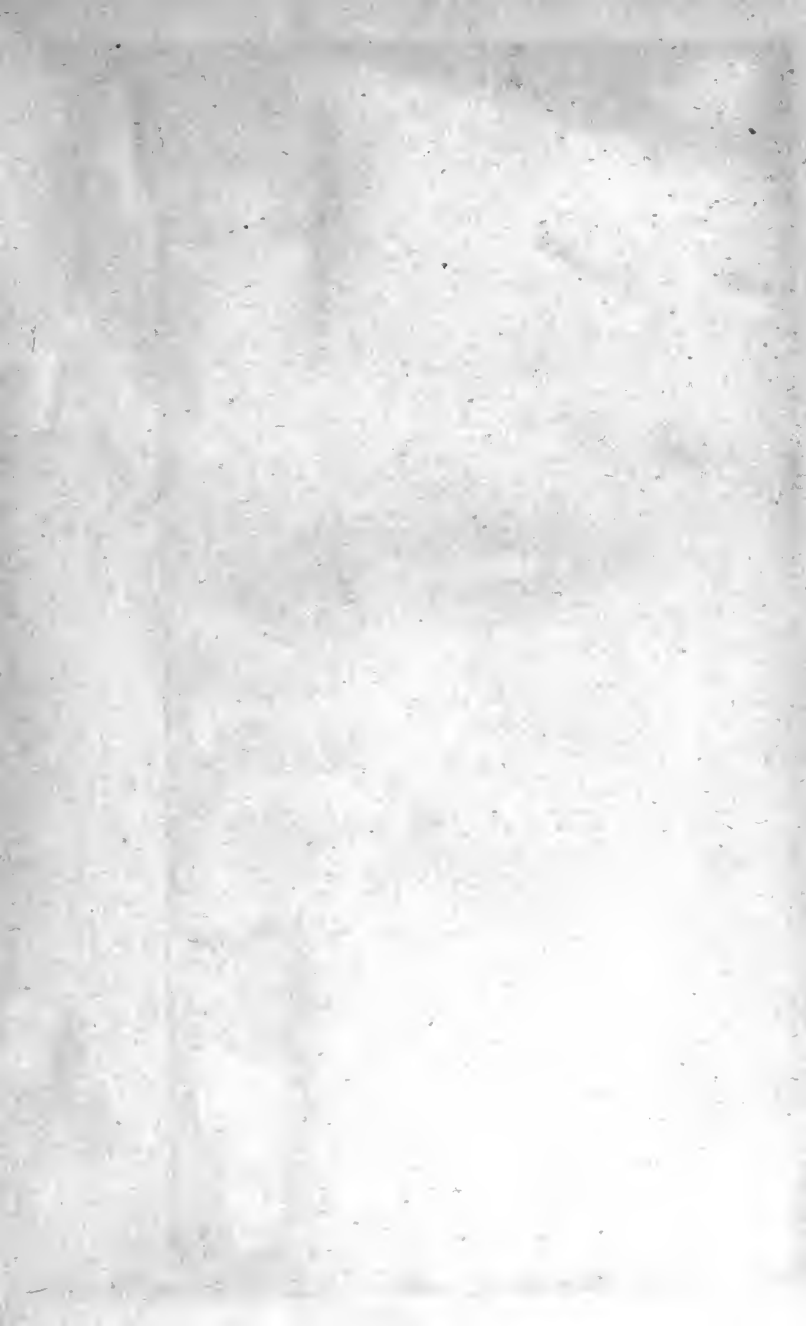


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THE FUTURE OF EDUCATION

BY
F. CLEMENT C. EGERTON



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AUTHOR'S NOTE

Eds
So many books have been written upon education and its defects in this country during the past few months that I have thought it better to select only what seem to me some of the more serious problems of the education of the future, and to treat them as fully as I can, rather than to attempt what could only be a very general sketch of education in all its branches.

Dr Moore
I am very greatly indebted to one of our foremost educationists, who prefers that I should not mention his name, for the great encouragement he has never failed to give me, and for much useful advice. It is also a very pleasant duty to thank all those connected with the Library at the Board of Education in Whitehall, for their great courtesy during the time I was working there. It is an extraordinary sign of the apathy of teachers to find so admirably organised a library—the best example of a specialised library I have ever known—so often completely devoid of readers, except for those connected with the Board of Education itself.

Lastly, my thanks are due to the Rev. Francis Bacon for much useful criticism and advice.

F. CLEMENT C. EGERTON.



CONTENTS

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION	9
I. MODERN THEORIES OF EDUCATION	19
II. THE PRESENT STATE OF PRIMARY EDUCATION IN ENGLAND .	36
III. EDUCATION AND MODERN SCIENCE	65
IV. EDUCATION AND THE SMALL CHILD	92
V. EDUCATION AND THE ADOLESCENT	117
VI. VOCATIONAL EDUCATION .	138
VII. EDUCATION OUT OF SCHOOL .	182
VIII. DISCIPLINE	203
IX. EDUCATION AND SEX . .	230
X. THE TEACHER	250

APPENDIX—

(a)	THE LITTLE COMMONWEALTH. AN EXPERIMENT IN SELF- GOVERNMENT	265
(b)	BINET'S TESTS OF NORMALITY IN INTELLIGENCE	280
(c)	A FORM OF DOSSIER FOR INDIVIDUAL CHILD STUDY	284
(d)	A SUGGESTED INSTITUTE OF EDUCATIONAL SCIENCE	287

BIBLIOGRAPHY	295
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INDEX	301
-----------------	-----

INTRODUCTION

EDUCATION.—We read the word constantly in our newspapers; we bandy it from mouth to mouth in our conversation, while with the average man's usual disregard for verbal accuracy, we probably do so with a very vague idea of its actual meaning. The actual derivation of the word "education" is disputed, but the popular opinion that it comes from "e—ducare" (to lead out) is quite probably correct. If it be so, never, perhaps, in the whole history of words has there been a greater divergence between the idea as originally represented by its verbal expression, and the practice which pretends to embody that idea. It has been so for many hundreds of years, and before we are able to define the actual meaning of education, we must look back through the centuries and see what it has meant in the past.

Unfortunately, in this matter, as in many others, we seem to have drifted into the habit *de nous payer de mots*. We pay ourselves with words in more senses than one. We discuss, we write about, we even legislate about what we call edu-

cation, whilst all the time we are very far from possessing the reality. We are always confusing education with instruction. We talk about "educational advantages," when we really mean instructional disadvantages, and we pride ourselves upon the inestimable benefits which our educational system has conferred upon us, unmindful of the fact that such an expression as "educational system" is almost a contradiction in terms, and that all our educational system has really secured for us is a doubtful proficiency in reading, writing and arithmetic, and a very pronounced lack of proficiency in thinking. The great difference between the "educated" product of our schools to-day and the "uneducated" barbarian of yesterday, is that while the latter did not trouble to think about thinking, but thought, the former imagines he can think, but cannot.

So much, then, has our system of education done for us. We have taught the present generation to read and write; we have stuffed them, by a system of forcible feeding, with a mental pabulum which will remain for ever undigested, and at the same time there is considerable evidence to prove that we have diminished their physical fitness. Certainly, we have decreased their power of resistance in the moral order.

If this indictment be true, and it is almost

universally admitted, surely it is time that public feeling should be awakened and made alive to the necessity of a real revolution in the world of education.

Man is a product of Nature. He belongs to Nature no less than the birds, the fishes and the plants. He is of a higher order than his brother, the ape, but he sometimes bears a strong resemblance to him. He is a child of Nature. There is, however, one essential difference between man and the lower animals which hitherto we seem to have failed to utilise in the right way. The period of his childhood and adolescence is infinitely more prolonged. All beings have a childhood of some kind. They must grow up. A seed, put in the ground, germinates, comes up toward the light and finally puts forth its shoots above the ground. If we wish it to grow, we give it all the help we can, but we do not interfere with its own ideas of growing; we provide light, water and food, but we do not presume to dictate to the plant the exact quantity it shall consume. It uses as much as it feels inclined to use, and no more. Further, if it shows signs of drooping, owing to the provision of too much sun and too little water, we do not attempt to punish it by pulling up all the blinds and depriving it of all water for two or three days. On the other hand, we draw down the blinds and increase the dose of water,

until we find that our plant has just what *it* wants, not what we want. Experience teaches us that Nature knows far better than we do what that plant requires, and if we attempt to go against Nature, the plant dies. So, in our dealings with plants, we recognise the existence of a higher authority than ourselves, and because we know that opposition to the laws of that authority leads to failure and to death, we are quite ready to submit.

If we are breeding horses, or dogs or cattle, we follow out the same reasonable principle. The young animal is incapable of finding all that it needs; we supply the deficiencies. There we stop. In this respect a wise horse trainer might give many an useful lesson to an unwise school-master. What is our own practice in the cultivation of the flower of childhood?

Fortunately, during the period that intervenes between conception and birth, Nature takes the matter out of our hands to a very large extent. We are just beginning to realise that she does not do so altogether, but the question of Eugenics—of ensuring for our children an opportunity of being well born—is hardly within the scope of this book, though it is intimately related to our subject. One almost shudders to think how *we* should set about the direction of the period of gestation. Let us consider for a

moment the way in which we actually do treat the child when he is given over, helpless, into our hands. A primary instinct leads him to demand nourishment. He may or may not get that which Nature has provided for him. If his mother is poor and compelled to work for her living, he probably will not. If his mother is rich, the probability is that she will not care for the inconvenience of feeding her own child, so that again he must go without. We begin our vicious system of interfering with Nature at a very early age. What is the result? Dr. Tattersall, the Medical Officer of Health for Salford, says in his report for 1906;¹ "The death rate among children fed from the bottle alone is 480 per thousand, as compared with 91 per thousand among breast-fed." "In Stockport . . . the proportion of delicate living children among the breast-fed was only two per cent.; the proportion among the hand-fed was sixty-five per cent., more than thirty times as great."²

So in this country, we begin our nurture of the child by undermining the foundations of his physical life, thus preparing the way for the physical degeneration of the nation. There could be no better example of the fact that interference with Nature's designs inevitably brings a terrible

¹ Quoted in the Year Book of Social Progress 1912, p. 33.

² *Ibid.*

reprisal. We must try to help Nature, not to supplant her.

✿ In order that the reader may fully understand the views which I am going to elaborate in this book, it will be well for me to express them at once in the form of an educational creed.

I have used the expression "educational creed" only for want of a better. If, indeed, there is one subject, above all others, about which one should not attempt to dogmatise, it is Education. So, although I as an individual have at present certain views about Education, which, for the sake of clearness, may be enunciated in the form of a creed, I do not suggest for one moment that anyone else should adopt them unless he is perfectly convinced of their soundness. Moreover, I myself am prepared to modify them, in whole or in part, immediately experience shows their falsity or even their weakness.

I believe :

(1) That the child is endowed at his birth with certain latent forces and powers, which it is the business of education to bring out and to foster.

(2) That unless the child receives from his earliest years the particular form of education most suited to his own characteristics, his chance of ever becoming a real man is reduced to a minimum.

(3) That the child is naturally good and not naturally bad, and that if he receives a fair chance, he himself will develop that natural goodness.

(4) That the child is better able to teach himself than

the most highly trained teacher is able to teach him, and that he will do so if opportunity is allowed him.

(5) That the duty of providing this opportunity is the greatest and most pressing obligation that rests upon each successive generation.

(6) That each individual child should and can be provided with such opportunities as will enable him to become, not perfect, but as near perfection as his hereditary tendencies and his environment allow.

(7) That his physical, mental and moral faculties should be developed simultaneously and harmoniously, not individually and one at the expense of another.

(8) That our present "educational system" is based upon many fallacies of which the chief are

(a) The "average child" fallacy;

(b) the "formal training" fallacy;

(c) the "born in sin" fallacy;

(d) the "result" fallacy.

(9) That until it is recognised that teaching is not a trade, not even a profession, but a *vocation*, our schools will continue to suffer from their present defects.

(10) That it is the office of education to bring out and realise *all* the possibilities latent within the child; to foster his mental, moral and physical growth; to enable him to learn, to think and to act, and to provide him with the necessary training and instruction which he needs as a preparation for his work in life, that he may realise and fulfil his duty to God, to his neighbour and to himself.

So much for my creed. This book is an attempt to show how such a faith may be realised in works. Unfortunately, in the process it will be my duty to find serious fault with the existing order of things. This is always an ungrateful task. To begin with, there are some who will construe my assault upon principles into an

attack upon individuals. Nothing could be further from my intention or desire. There are others who will point to what they call the excellent results of the present system. They will point to the displays of charmingly written essays, to the prettily coloured maps and drawings, to the collections of pressed plants and dressed dolls that from time to time grace the walls of educational exhibitions. But these pretty things are not, and do not represent, education. Only one who has been a teacher can know how mechanical perfection and absolute deadness of intellect may go together, so that the veriest dullard may produce the finest examples of such work. If education means anything, it means life and thought, and these things show none of it.

There are others again who habitually look with suspicion upon everything new. These form a class from which the world has suffered from the beginning. The scientific experimentalists of the Middle Ages were burnt as wizards : at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the machinery whereby England has since gained her commercial supremacy was broken up and destroyed ; railway trains, telephones, the discoveries of modern science, have all been ridiculed in their turn. So it will be again. We who desire to revolutionise education can only expect the same treatment. There are vested interests to

protect, pet theories to bolster up, and no weapon is more powerful than ridicule. Hence those who have the courage of their convictions are laughed to scorn, called faddists, and considered as more or less amiable lunatics. Fortunately the history of the world teaches us that it has always been the same, so that as reformers we do not feel in the least alarmed. The fact is this : during the last fifty years immense strides have been made in every form of science, but perhaps more especially in those sciences which have man as their direct, as well as their indirect, object—anthropology, biology, physiology and psychology. I am not enamoured of the long names of these sciences, but to a great extent they are the sciences of common sense. Our conception of man, the human being, has undergone many modifications. We have changed our ideas as to his origin, his essence, his powers and his limitations. No doubt we shall go on changing them, but already we have learnt that a child is not a miniature adult, and that he cannot be treated as one. Hence the imminent educational revolution. We have still much to learn : the new science of Child-study is in its infancy, but we have already learned sufficient to enable us to lay the foundations of a greater and far higher ideal in the making of men and women than that which has hitherto animated us ; we are

nearer the realisation of a better and more perfect world, and we are now in a position to attempt the solution of what is, perhaps, the most difficult and most vital of all the problems of the future—the problem of education.

THE FUTURE OF EDUCATION

CHAPTER I

MODERN THEORIES OF EDUCATION

THE seventeenth century saw the beginning of that deadly theory of education, whose exponents at this day are fighting to prevent its extinction with a bitterness only equalled by their un-wisdom. The traditionalism of the schools and the conservatism of the teacher, which together were primarily responsible for the foundation of the neo-disciplinary theory of education, are as strong to-day as ever. It is interesting to trace the origin of this theory. The old narrow humanistic schools had become useless owing to the universal use of the vernacular in all the circumstances in which it had hitherto been the custom to use Latin. They had, however, a convenient system of organisation, and they had met with some success, so that there was a strong inclination to retain their principal features with a changed content of study and a modified theory of education. The religious, philosophical and

social theories of the day supplied them with a basis. The *process* of learning was considered all important, the subject learned of minor importance. In all learning, said the apostles of this revived disciplinism, are exercised faculties that will be available for future use, in no matter what direction : certain intellectual reactions are set up which will reproduce themselves for any experience that may present itself. In other words, declared these advocates of formal training, "you must learn Greek, not, indeed, because it will be well for you to become acquainted with the life, thought and ideals of the Greeks through their literature, but because the process of learning Greek will help you to solve problems in mathematics or anything else, and to decide whether the world is flat or round."

This was, and is, the root principle of formal training. The particular method of its application was modified by the religious opinions of the time. Man is born in sin. Depravity is a part of his essence. He is naturally a black-guard, and only by hard and painful experience can he be made anything else. He is always wanting to do something wrong, therefore his will must be broken. "Speak roughly, speak roughly, speak roughly to your little boy, and beat him when he sneezes." He is a miniature adult, with all the faculties, capabilities and

vices of an adult, so if he does not behave according to the adult code of morality for little boys, the devil is at the bottom of the business, and he must be whipped out. The child must be "a little man," and not a little boy. The schools in which this theory was carried out to its logical conclusion were the torture houses of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries.

This is a most convenient and charming theory for the lazy teacher. "When in doubt, cane a boy. If he does not deserve it to-day, he did yesterday, or he will to-morrow." We have remembered the "Spare the rod and spoil the child" proverb, attributed to Solomon, and forgotten many of that monarch's much wiser remarks. It saves trouble to punish a child; it is much easier than to direct him, but it is not education.

.

Such was the nature of what may be called the modern disciplinary theory of education. It now remains for us to trace the tendencies that have affected and worked upon it, and which have ultimately resulted in the formation of a new theory, if the word theory may any longer be used. The theorists of the past always seem to have imagined that they had said the last

word: the modern educationist realises that he may only say the first with hesitation.

We may begin with the iconoclasm of Rousseau and the Naturalists. It is necessary to investigate the circumstances and the surroundings that affected and stimulated their movement. After the religious and social conditions of France in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries a reaction was inevitable. It began with a dry, cynical and rationalistic interpretation of life and human activity, together with a keenly critical attitude towards philosophical and religious creeds. Rousseau and his school modified this by interpreting life rather in a naturalistic than a rationalistic spirit. He preferred to think that primitive man, or man in the state of nature, was far more capable of development than the artificial product of civilization. Consequently, he denounced all existing institutions, religious, political, philosophical and social, as a conspiracy to deprive man of his birthright, or the opportunities of self-development, and to retain him in a condition of relative servitude.

He would have done away with all systems of morality based upon reason, and declared that the feelings and emotions were the only safe guide to action, while natural impulses were to be followed rather than the deliberate conclusions of

thought and reason. The Church, the State, the school, formal institutions of every kind—must all go.

With Rousseau's opinions, so far as they are unconcerned with education, we have nothing to do, but there can be no doubt that he introduced a very necessary revolution in the realms of educational thought. Tradition he regarded as hateful, therefore the experience of the past counted as nothing with him. He believed that the process of education was purely individual, and that it should depend entirely upon the natural instincts of the child. This was the very converse of the formal disciplinary concept. He did not, indeed, believe in any teaching process at all, but would have had the child left free to follow out his natural bents and inclinations, educating himself by experience, independent of artificial influence or direction. The child came first and the teacher very far behind, as a kind of assistant or guide.

The significance of the Naturalistic school lies not in its immediate consequences, which were overwhelmed by the French Revolution and the Napoleonic *régime*, but in its influence upon all great educationists from Kant and Pestalozzi to Froebel and Montessori. Its development, or rather remoulding in a practical and reasonable form, was continued in Germany by Kant, Fichte,

and Herbart on the theoretical side, and carried into practice by Froebel.

In the space at our disposal it is practically impossible to relate in detail all that Pestalozzi, Herbart and Froebel did for education. They agreed, more or less, with regard to the purpose and the principles of education, but they looked at the question from different standpoints, Pestalozzi as a social reformer, Herbart as an university professor, and Froebel as a simple lover of children. All three agreed with Rousseau in rejecting the old disciplinary theory. They regarded education as development, which outside influences could do much to further or to retard; a natural process which should be encouraged by instruction based upon the interests and activities of the child himself. Consequently, the occupations and surroundings of the child were made by these educationists to furnish the illustrations for his lessons.

Herbart looked at the matter from a philosophical point of view, and ultimately founded a psychological method which he applied to teaching. The great feature of this system of psychology is the distinction, drawn apparently for the first time, between instruction and education. Instead of the mind of the teacher, the mind of the child is made the criterion. This wonderful revolution in educational thought only needed

the gentle, practical, but somewhat mystic influence of Froebel to complete it. We may safely say that whatever good there has been in our schools during the past half century has come there through the influence of Froebel. His writings on education are voluminous, and by no means easy to understand, but in them is contained the germ of every forward movement that has taken place during the last seventy years. As he was not only a theorist, but a practical teacher, we are able to describe not only his theories but his own way of putting them into execution. All his teachings resolve themselves into one thought. The child, with his interests, his activities, his development, his life, is alone of consequence in education. There is no longer any question of knowledge for knowledge's sake, of education as discipline, of the summary execution of the child's spirit and will. The old principle was "Let us get our own back out of the Devil in the person of this child," the new one, "Here is a flower planted in our garden by God Himself. Let us cultivate it, not as we will, but as God wills." So the school for Froebel ceased to be a bear-garden and became a children's garden,—a *kindergarten*.

Froebel himself worked only with small children, and was concerned only with elementary education, but his ideas are gradually penetrating

all the branches of education. To him we owe the great principle that the school is a place where the child may discover his own individuality. When he has discovered it, he will reveal it to others, and develop for himself powers of initiative and of endurance.

We are not likely to advance very far beyond Froebel's standpoint. Since his day we have certainly learnt much of the physical and mental life of the child ; we have also passed through a great industrial and social revolution that has altered conditions of life and thought to such an extent that a development of Froebel's ideas has become essential. We are faced by other problems which demand a treatment of their own, but the principle upon which Froebel taught remains as valid to-day as when he first enunciated it.

Why have Froebel's ideas made relatively so little impression upon our schools ? The want of breadth which seems to hang about the teaching profession as a thick fog, is responsible. Those teachers who had heard about Froebel tried to graft what they could understand of Froebel's principles upon their own traditional ideas of formal discipline. They introduced Froebel's "gifts," the material of his method, but they withheld that freedom from the children which was the very mainspring of

his school. The result has been that many of our so-called kindergartens have resembled a corpse galvanised into some semblance of life, horrid indeed when examined closely, but with an appearance of life when looked at from a distance.

It has remained for the Dottorressa Maria Montessori to re-examine the question of education from Froebel's point of view, to justify his conclusions, and to adapt them to the circumstances of modern life. I have said "from Froebel's point of view," but that is true only in the sense that she believes in education as a process of growth. Dr. Montessori is not consciously what one can call a Froebellian. Her work has aroused an interest in education that has been unequalled for many years, and as it is impossible for me to give a detailed account of it in this book, I cannot do better than refer the reader to her own book, "The Montessori Method" (Heinemann, 7s. 6d.) and more especially to Mrs. Fisher's "Montessori Mother" (Constable, 4s. 6d.), to which Mr. Edmond Holmes has contributed a most interesting and valuable preface.

I have mentioned the revolution in social and industrial life. The wonderful advance of science has also had its effect upon education. These scientific, social and industrial movements have influenced education more or less indirectly.

They have reacted upon every type of school alike, but with the root principles underlying the theory of education they hardly interfere.

The scientific tendency has chiefly affected secondary and higher education. Herbert Spencer and Huxley were its chief exponents. They insisted principally upon the importance of the study of natural phenomena, basing their arguments upon the requirements of modern life and culture. This meant a complete re-construction of the school curriculum, and demanded as a natural consequence a drastic change in the methods of teaching. Instruction in science was quite a new thing; it had hardly been heard of before the nineteenth century, and the difficulty of securing capable teachers of an entirely new subject was not slight. Moreover the mere novelty of the subject brought into opposition a host of teachers of the traditional school. A school where Greek was not taught was declared absolutely preposterous, and one may imagine that the very idea of experiment and investigation was repugnant to many schoolmasters of the old type. The scientific movement had also an indirect and not altogether beneficial reaction upon teaching of every grade in that it tended to make teaching a science in itself. There is certainly a science of teaching, but it is not one of the exact sciences, like mathematics,

much as the upholders of the formal training theory would like to make it into one.

The sociological tendency in education showed itself contemporaneously with the movement for universal education which followed the growth and development of industry. It originated in Germany with Maria Theresa of Austria and Frederick the Great of Prussia, and in Germany this view, which considers education mainly as the means by which the individual is prepared for the part he must play in the social, industrial and political processes of life, has predominated ever since. It is not difficult to see the object of Maria Theresa and Frederick. Education, manipulated according to the principles of formal discipline, becomes a powerful instrument in the hands of statesmen with one particular end in view. It was not the development of personality that these two sovereigns desired, but the formation of a disciplined body of servants. They were anxious for education much in the same way that Napoleon was anxious that many children should be born in France. They needed men for their political purposes; he wanted food for cannon.

The sociological tendency of the present day is much wider and more human than that of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It regards education as a social process, a process that shall

assist in the development of the individual and prepare him, according to the capabilities he possesses, to take his share in the work of mankind. At the same time, and by the same means, it considers education as a process which will aid in the developing and perfecting of society, and increase the efficiency of political, economic and social institutions. It is almost a reversion to the best Greek theories.

Naturally when education is viewed in this way, the question of the curriculum again becomes important. The sociologist would teach those subjects which have a direct bearing upon the duties of life, and would treat the old traditional subject matter especially in its connection with human activity. This is what is called education for citizenship. It varies, as we have seen, with the current conception of an ideal society. When the development of the idea first gained expression in the formation of a State system of education, the practice which was based upon sociological theories was very different in important details from that which modern theories demand. At the present day we have advanced somewhat, and are able to look beyond the immediate aim and purpose of the school to its wider and more general function. In this way we can realise that the school has a distinct duty to posterity as well as to the present genera-

tion. This duty it must fulfil by attempting to increase the stock of knowledge which the world possesses by investigation and experiment, as well as by spreading abroad the knowledge which we already have. It has also to preserve and keep alive the body of traditional learning which we have received from our ancestors, and in which the experience of the past is, to some extent, crystallized. Then again, we realise the value of education as an important factor in social control, a means of keeping the balance and securing that stability of society without which progress is impossible. Finally, the modern sociologist sees in education an important agent in the process of evolution. There are some acquired characteristics which the process of evolution through heredity seems unable to transmit, and here man, by means of education, is able to overcome the difficulty and to secure the continuance of all that is best in the race.

This view of education as a necessary means to social progress evidently requires a State system of schools, or at least a system of schools in close touch with the State and, so to speak, in communion with it. We have arrived at this stage now, so far as elementary education is concerned, but although elementary schools were founded in the eighteenth century, philanthropic and religious bodies had to maintain them,

until in 1870 the State system of board schools was founded. The board schools and the voluntary schools continued side by side until 1902, when they were both placed upon practically the same footing.

At the present moment there is a great movement towards what is called industrial education. It is said that our schools no longer serve the purpose of providing the children with an equipment for life, that they need to have a closer relation to the actual economic needs and activities of after life. Those who hold this view urge the inclusion in the curriculum of boys' schools of actual trade instruction, or at least of regularly organised manual instruction, and into girls' schools of similar vocational instruction. Unfortunately the problem presents such a host of difficulties that it is still far from solution. I shall have more to say about it in another chapter.

A more complex question than that of education, it would be difficult to imagine. Theorisers are often like a dog with a bone. They run away with some side issue into a corner, and there they sit and snarl at every one else. In this very question of industrial education, for example, the trades unionists are afraid that any step in that direction would benefit the employers and not the employed. The employers, on

the other hand, are often the most objectionable of all the seekers for results. So long as they get what they require, they are satisfied, but they are unwilling to acquiesce in the provision of any form of education which will not directly benefit themselves. In this country, too, the cause of education is perpetually harassed by the quarrel between church and chapel.

But the chief enemy of education, and the most insidious, is often the teacher himself. No section of the community is so filled with petty jealousies, so foolishly unconscious of its defects, so absurdly over-conscious of its merits, as the teaching profession. It is continually placing itself between the child and real education and shouting, "I am the one consideration." It is for this reason that nearly all the difficulties with which we meet in making laws about education centre round the teacher. No progress will be made until he is removed from the unnaturally important position which he has succeeded in securing for himself.

We are now standing at a parting of the ways. We have learned to realise that our re-examination of educational theories, our readjustment of educational practice must never cease. We are now in a position to choose from the various theories of the past, all that has proved itself valuable in use, and that seems good to us to-day.

There can be no new theory of education, but there may well be an assimilation of all that is best in the old ones. We must be for ever investigating, for ever varying and adding to what we already know of education. Rigid systems have always proved unsatisfactory, what shall the new system be? The very word system is objectionable, for it suggests an inflexible arrangement of co-ordinated ideas, a regular method. We are almost obliged to use the word for want of a better, but the education of the future will hardly be systematic in the sense in which we generally use the word. It will be guided by certain principles, but the application of these principles will vary according to the individual. These principles will be simple enough. I have already referred to them in the course of this chapter, but it will be as well to summarise them here.

The education of the future will centre in the child and his activities. Education is one of the processes of life, and its aim is to make life more perfect and more complete. It is not only a process of individual life, but a process in the life of society, a means of social development. It will make full use of each faculty of the child, so soon and in the same measure as that faculty becomes available. All over-strain will be avoided.

The teacher will realise that the education of a child is a growth from within that child, and that his function is to sympathise with and assist the spontaneous growth of the child's mental, physical, and moral faculties, rather than to "educate and instruct." The natural activities of the child himself are the means whereby this growth may be fostered, but they must be allowed free play. The teacher will realise that the senses must first receive attention. "*Nihil est in intellectu quod non prius fuerit in sensu.*" The child is not a miniature adult, and the instruction he receives must be based on sensory impressions. Discipline, so-called, will disappear, and training in self-control and self-assertion will take its place. Repression and suppression will give place to encouragement and direction. The State will recognise the right of every child to such development as he can achieve for himself, and provision will be made in order that he may be provided with the material and the opportunities of which he finds himself in need.

All this will mean a great revolution, and only a teacher perhaps is in a position to realise exactly how complete a revolution it will be. But it must come, and the sooner the better for the world.

CHAPTER II

THE PRESENT STATE OF PRIMARY EDUCATION IN ENGLAND

THERE is only one word that adequately describes the state of Education in this country, and that is "chaos." Our organisation is entirely disjointed: between the elementary school and the secondary school, between the secondary school and the university, between them all and life itself there is a great gulf fixed. Some of these institutions are managed by one authority, some by another, and some manage themselves. They are mutually jealous of one another while the elementary school is the despised of all. Not only do we find this chaos in matters of organisation; we may discover it also in those matters which are of vital importance to the schools themselves. Each elementary school is conducted haphazard save for the easily eluded requirements of the Code and the Government Inspectors. Each secondary school is a law unto itself with the same exception in certain cases. The Public Schools and the Universities

go their own traditional way, whether that way be good or bad, without respect for anybody or anything, least of all perhaps without regard to that great purpose of all education,—the development of the individual and his adjustment to the requirements of the race. As for an universal grasp of the fundamental principles which govern all education, it is only too clear that many of those responsible for our schools have not the faintest idea of their existence.

It is quite true that other countries stand in exactly the same position. I do not think that any one who had made a study of general education upon the Continent or in America would be rash enough to suggest that, speaking generally, we are behind other nations. Germany has her Vocational Schools, and we may say a more *practical* system of education than we have, but the German character is very different from ours, and we are not in the least likely to adopt the German system. If we did, we should be losing sight of the very necessary truth in matters of education that nations differ in character and characteristics just in the same way as individuals. The elementary schools of France and the Lycées represent the very antithesis of the principle of liberty which is so essential to the development of individual development and initiative. Education in the United States gives one the impression

of being continually at the mercy of the latest theory, indeed of all the theories in the world, Americanised and only half realised.

But the defects of other nations are no immediate concern of ours except in so far as we may learn from them what we must ourselves avoid. I think one of the clearest reasons for the failure of education in this country is the universal contempt for the elementary school, a condition that is almost peculiar to us. The elementary school should be the foundation of the nation, and it would indeed be well if, in this country as in America, all children spent some portion of their time in a public elementary school. Under the present *régime*, it is not difficult to understand the reasons which prevent this condition, but it is quite unnatural, and the sooner it is altered the better, not only for the children themselves, but for the teachers and the community in general. At the present day we are suffering from the results of a widespread distrust and antipathy felt by one class for another, and the real reason at the root of this antipathy may be found in the fact that each class has no real knowledge of another.

Elementary education,—the elementary school, whether it be public or private, has more influence upon the future of the child than any later stage of education. Apparently we do not yet realise

this fact. Even in these days when our present system of elementary education is so obviously deficient, those who would be styled "educational reformers" insist upon the provision of what they call "the educational ladder," so that boys and girls brought up and educated in the stunted manner which is characteristic of our schools, may climb, through our equally imperfect secondary schools, to the university. Why they are so anxious for the setting up of this ladder it is impossible to conceive. For the success of the ladder already in existence has yet to be proved. Every year there are to be seen in the Honours Lists of our universities the names of several boys who have risen from the elementary schools. In the vast majority of cases these young men become assistant masters in secondary schools of the cheaper kind. Is the purpose of the educational ladder merely to serve as a means whereby boys who begin in the elementary schools may rise to the dizzy heights of masterships in secondary schools? It is a typically pedagogic ambition.

The re-making of the elementary school itself is a work of genuine importance, but it receives far less attention than the fictitious educational ladder.

I fancy that I have spoken elsewhere in this book of the utter lack of a sense of proportion which characterises most of those who speak or

read or hear about education. For nine people out of ten, education means secondary or higher education; the elementary school is nothing, sometimes merely nothing, sometimes a necessary but objectionable concession compelled by the growth of the democratic spirit. But education for ninety-five out of every hundred children in this country means the elementary school and nothing more, and they do not demand it; they suffer from it. They bear it as an evil that cannot be escaped. No one but he who has received the training that an elementary school has to offer can tell how useless and how much worse than useless it all is. But such as it is, it has a kind of organisation, an account of which might lead one to believe that it could not be improved. I propose therefore in this chapter to sketch out the lines of the system by which elementary education in this country is conducted, and at the same time to show how it falls short of the expectations it has aroused.

Until 1870, the establishment of elementary schools was entirely left to the great religious bodies of the country and to one or two philanthropic societies. Children might go to school or not as their parents pleased and a small charge was usually made for the instruction they received. So long as the schools maintained some measure of efficiency, the State made a grant in

aid which helped to pay the teachers' salaries and other necessary expenditure. The teachers received very little.

The Education Act of 1870, which made education compulsory for all children between the ages of five and fourteen, also made the foundation of School Boards compulsory where no school was already provided, with power to build and maintain schools which should be Christian in tone, but purely undenominational. This foundation was optional in places where there was already a sufficient provision of schools by religious authorities. The School Boards levied rates to provide for the maintenance of their own schools, while the denominational schools raised money for themselves as best they could. The State came to the aid of both by paying a grant upon the average attendance in the case of schools which were considered efficient by Her Majesty's Inspectors, who were appointed by the Government Department of Education. Originally and until comparatively recently, this efficiency was supposed to be gauged by the success of the children in an annual examination according to standards. Just before the beginning of the present century, this system was replaced by one of inspection, according to which the Inspector walks into the school whenever he feels inclined, usually about

once a year, perhaps twice, and goes round from class to class, watching lessons being given, observing the tone of the school, and questioning both teachers and children. When he has satisfied himself with regard to the condition of the school, he goes away, and it is customary at the present day for the Chief Inspector of the district to make a short written report upon the school to the Board of Education, which is then passed on to the Managers of the school and the Head-teacher and finally entered in the Log Book which every school is obliged to keep. If there is anything outrageously wrong with the school, the reports are made more frequently, but the average period between them is about two years under ordinary circumstances. Sometimes the Local Authorities, whose position I am just about to explain, themselves think fit to appoint Inspectors who visit the schools more frequently and whose duties vary according to the inclination of their employers. Perhaps, too, the amenability of the teachers in the district, and the complacency of the local branch of the National Union of Teachers, has something to do in the matter.

Until 1902, then, there were two distinct classes of schools, schools provided by the district itself and maintained by it through the rates, together with the Government grant, and schools founded

by the Church of England, the Roman Catholic Church and the Wesleyan Methodists, and maintained by them also with the aid of the grant. There were also a few undenominational schools, called British Schools, that had survived from the pre-School-Board days. These were supported by a voluntary committee. The Act of 1902 left the right of building schools and of maintaining them so far as the buildings are concerned, to the religious bodies, but placed them, together with the old board schools, under the direction, for educational purposes, of the County Council in the country, or of the Town or Urban District Council in towns. Roughly speaking, the present system is this: the district must build and maintain undenominational schools where they are needed, but the religious authorities may also build denominational schools where there is a sufficient call for them, which must be maintained by the Local Authority except in so far as external repairs to the building and alterations are concerned. The religious authority has the right of appointment and dismissal of teachers, but after appointment can only get rid of them "on religious grounds," except with the consent of the Local Authority. On the other hand, the Local Authority can demand the dismissal of incompetent teachers on educational grounds, and has a right of veto

on their appointment on the same grounds, but this can only be done through the Managers, of whom four represent the religious foundation and two the Local Authority. As a matter of fact, apart from this appointment and dismissal of teachers, the "managers" have very little indeed to do with the management of the school. The Local Education Committee pays the teachers, provides furniture and school books, fixes the holidays; in a word, treats the schools exactly as if they belonged to it.

Above both the Local Authority and the Managers there is the Board of Education, which is one of the chief Government Departments. Every year or so it issues its regulations, which have the force of law, in the shape of a Code of Regulations. This prescribes the subjects which *must* be taught and the subjects that *may* be taught, the conditions for obtaining the annual grant, and the qualifications of the teachers, together with such important details as the size of classes, the keeping of registers and so forth. A copy of this Code must be kept, together with a log book, a punishment book, and the necessary registers, in every school. There must also be a time table approved by the Inspector, and a scheme of work which, though not specified in the Code, is naturally required by the Inspectors, though they do not always get it.

The schools are usually open for five days in the week, from nine till twelve, and from two to half-past four. There must be an interval for recreation of not less than ten minutes in each session. It is usually a quarter of an hour in the morning and ten minutes in the afternoon.

Each Local Authority must provide for the medical inspection of its subjects, and in towns the Local Authorities are allowed to make provision for feeding necessitous children. Unfortunately the medical inspection is still much of a farce in many districts, simply because it is inspection and nothing more, while the feeding of the children is often totally inadequate in towns, while in country districts, where the children may surely be quite as hungry as those in towns, there is often no attempt at all at feeding the children.

The Board of Education also issues a host of other directions and instructions of various kinds, some to its own Inspectors and some to the Local Authorities. It also insists upon the provision of suitable school buildings by means of certain Building Regulations.

There is a great deal, from the purely educational point of view, to be said in favour of the present system of organisation, except that too much power perhaps is left in the hands of amateurs who have the quaintest ideas of

education and its aims. But the Board of Education, which, although it is not infallible, seems to be actuated by the soundest of motives, is continually finding itself opposed, first by the teachers themselves and secondly by the Local Authorities. The Local Authorities, like many individuals, look upon their educational duties rather as a bore, and are very averse to any further expenditure of money upon their schools. Moreover they have their own Inspectors, and these gentlemen very frequently find themselves in complete disagreement with the Inspectors of the Board of Education. As they are usually ex-teachers themselves and have probably retained some of the teachers' distrust and dislike of the Government Inspectors, this is not to be wondered at. The Local Authorities invariably prefer to trust to their own men.

But the teachers are the great difficulty. The Head-teachers are usually middle-aged and they were brought up in quite a different school from those of the present day. I do not say that it was a better or a worse school, but it was perhaps more consistent. They attend to their work most religiously ; they are at school day in and day out, and they are often particularly proud of the fact that they have never been away for a day for dozens of years. They have a hankering after the good old days when they did pretty

well what they liked, and they much prefer the rule of thumb to any other rule. So it is that Inspectors frequently find the very greatest difficulty in getting any definite notion from them of what their plan really is. They arrange their time-tables in such a way that the arrangement of lessons seems symmetrical, they surround it with red lines and scroll patterns ; they keep to it with the most frightful precision, entering the different class-rooms watch in hand one second after the half-hour to see if any luckless assistant has gone on too long. In a word they live like clockwork, very good clockwork sometimes, but none the less like a machine. I am speaking for the moment of what is considered by Local Authorities and others to be the best type of Head-master. He turns out results with unflinching regularity. He has an Honours Board with the names of his scholarship winners upon it in gold letters, and a nice and pleasing array of daintily coloured brushwork drawings upon neat green baize covered boards. His museum cupboards contain daintily labelled pieces of iron ore, and his stock cupboards are a model of tidiness. His pencils are always splendidly sharpened and the exercise books of his children are always blotless and perfect. He wanders into the playground at four minutes to nine precisely, to survey, with an air of severity,

the boots and shoes of his little army. He goes there again after playtime to see that all the little bits of paper have been religiously picked up. At twenty minutes to ten precisely, he goes through the attendance registers with the utmost care, and woe betide the unfortunate teacher who has made a mistake. He opens his log book, thinks hard for some seconds and finally notes down the visit of the School Attendance officer. He sits at his desk and writes a few notes demanding the reason for absence of various truants, and then he looks at the clock and sets off on a tour of the classrooms. He enters them with his shoulders braced back and an air of importance, so that the class who have previously been looking as bored as their teacher, brace themselves into an attitude of attention and "sit up." He stands with his arms behind his back by the door for a few moments with an air of patient dissatisfaction and then takes the blackboard and the chalk from the teacher as much as to say "See how much better I can do it." He surrenders the apparatus again after a little triumphant questioning, and goes off somewhere else. At the close of school he watches everybody march off before he goes himself. And, once a week, he takes the whole school in the large hall for singing.

Then there are the assistants in this admirable

school. They adapt themselves as far as possible to the peculiarities of their head, whom they probably detest. They strive to become miniature replicas of himself. Their lesson notebooks are models of method, with the "matter" and "method" arranged in parallel columns, with delicate diagrams on alternate pages, the whole thing quite a work of art. I have no patience to put down any more of their virtues. They are all virtue, and their school is a model school. Visitors are brought to it with pride, and express themselves delighted. But, the whole place has as much life, real life and activity in it, as a door nail.

These are the best schools. There are others. There is the voluntary school preparing for the Religious Inspection in the time for secular instruction, where, upon the advent of a suspicious stranger, a lesson upon the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost is suddenly transformed into an account of the beheading of Charles I. ; there are the same voluntary schools where the children are occupied in folding up notices for the next bazaar, and where the teachers are making articles for the same bazaar, all in time paid for out of the rates. There is the voluntary school where the Managers and the contractor appointed by the Local Authority try to make a bargain and spend less on the painting and repairing of

the school than the amount which the Council will pay. All these things go on at the present day.

There are the schools where the Head-master will come in drunk even in the morning and cane his own son in order to show that he has no partialities; where the Head-master comes to school in his slippers, without a collar and with a pipe in his mouth; where the children keep up an unending free fight with their teacher; where the children go to bathe while the master goes to sleep, and much worse even than these, where the master cannot keep his evil mind and evil suggestions from the girls in his highest class.

But all these things are as nothing in comparison with the way in which the children are taught, in which their souls are murdered. There are schools where poor babies go to sleep because they are too tired to keep threading and unthreading leather tabs made to represent the front part of a boot; where the children's hair is dirty through the neglect of parent and teacher alike; where the school books are too filthy for any self-respecting child to handle. In my first school I remember taking a pile of reading books for the Managers to see at one of their meetings: after a glance at the covers they declined to look inside them. It

was at this same school that I found piles, hundreds, of exercise books thrown at the back of a cupboard. Those which the more advanced class had apparently used were filled with a list of all the diseases it was possible to imagine. There was no explanation, no sequel, nothing but ill-spelt lists of all the complaints provided for in the British Pharmacopeia. In the books that had been used by the lowest class, on the first page, the assistant-mistress had written the child's name and the name of the school. The book contained nothing else but this, repeated over and over again, from the first page to the last, until on the last pages it was impossible to decipher a single letter. The school had been reported upon every six months for two years and though some scheme of work was asked for, none was ever made out. When I arrived, I asked the Infant Mistress, who was under my direction, to make one out, but she *could* not do so, and I ultimately had to do it myself. She had been there for ten years.

There are few schools which are as bad as that, but there are many not very much better. Teachers of this type are the loudest in screaming for liberty to run upon their own lines without interference from Inspectors. Small wonder ! There is no doubt that, taken as a whole, the voluntary schools are worse than the others.

The case could hardly be otherwise. Until 1902 the teachers were paid starvation wages, the schools were stinted in supplies, and chosen more for their docility than any other quality, whereas in the Board Schools money was spent much more freely. The fault of the old Board Schools, now called Council Schools, is that dead, mechanical precision in matters of detail which prevails in place of the largeness and open mindedness of life; the spirit of mechanical obedience rather than that of self-realisation. I am not at all sure that it is not better for the children to bathe while the master sleeps than for the children's souls and minds to be put to sleep by the incessant wakefulness of the teacher.

But in order to amplify and complete our idea of the present condition of elementary education in this country, we must look back once more to the state of affairs prevailing before the Act of 1902. It is also necessary to bear in mind the fact that considerably more than half our schools are still voluntary schools, and that a much greater proportion of our teachers were brought up under the old, vicious system. They can hardly be expected to have emancipated themselves from its degrading effects, even though, theoretically, conditions have now changed. I say "theoretically," because all the abuses in schools to which I have already re-

ferred, which have come within my own personal knowledge, have taken place since 1902.

From many points of view, it was very necessary to bring voluntary and "board" schools under the same authority. There were many opportunities for abuse in the old system, and these opportunities were not infrequently taken advantage of. I shall mention one or two examples of these abuses, because it is obvious that the ideals of the school of to-day, and the absurd social position of the teacher, are directly due to the old system, which is by no means completely abolished to-day. I have heard of cases in which the Managers paid a nominal salary to some of their teachers, by making them sign a receipt for double the amount actually received. In many schools, especially in country districts, the Head-master was chosen more on account of an ability to play the organ in the parish church than to teach. As a matter of fact, so long as the religious instruction in these schools was imparted, in what the Diocesan Inspector considered an efficient manner, the Managers cared little about the rest. It was convenient to have a kind of human quarry near at hand, where boys could be obtained for weeding the garden, or for running errands, and teachers to act as unpaid clerks or lay readers. The system was a veritable manufactory of hypocrisy. I

remember reading in the log book of one of my schools two entries which were rather illuminating. The first was made by one of Her Majesty's Inspectors to the effect that it would be much better if Miss A., the Head-mistress, were herself allowed to keep the key of the school store cupboard, and that it was not right that she should be obliged to buy pencils for the children out of her own pocket—her salary was not more than sixty pounds a year. Two or three days later, there was an entry in the same log book that Miss A. had received her notice "from the Reverend Manager" that day. The Reverend Manager, who was in the habit of changing his Head-mistresses every few months, evidently considered the lady to blame for the disclosures.

Another "Reverend Manager" once told me that he selected his teachers with great care, but that his supreme test of fitness was to relate a story of somewhat doubtful character to the lady applicants individually. If they looked shocked they were put out of court immediately, but if they smiled, he considered their qualifications a second time. I am not quite sure that there was not some method in his madness, but it was surely a strange method of choosing a teacher.

From such a system of management, in the

hands of those who cared nothing about education, we can expect nothing else than the chaos we find. Education was only an excuse, and it has to a great extent remained one. Our bill for elementary education is almost the greatest in the world. We spend millions of money annually upon our schools. It would be impossible for the nation to make a poorer investment than upon the present system. It is universally admitted, except of course, by the teachers themselves, that our educational system is a complete failure. Elsewhere in this book I have given proofs of the fact. As a system, it is absolutely rotten from beginning to end.

To begin with, all our schools are moulded upon the same pattern. It would seem the most elementary truism that country schools should be adapted to the needs of the country, and town schools to the needs of the town. But nothing of the sort. You may go into a little country school of seventy or eighty children, and there find a solitary woman striving her utmost to teach three or even four classes at one time, whilst an unqualified ignorant assistant presides over the babies and children under the age of seven. There is no need for this subdivision of classes, which makes work almost impossible, but the system of "standards" is so ingrained in the teachers that they cannot

work at all outside it. Again, these children will be doing exactly the same work that town children are doing, using the same reading-books, the same arithmetic; everything is the same, except perhaps a little additional gardening of no practical use, and certainly of no other kind of use. Moreover the mental and moral condition of country teachers often leaves a great deal to be desired. It is obviously impossible for me to state the facts of my own experience here, but I have seen and heard quite enough to know that sobriety and morality are not the two most prevalent virtues among teachers in country districts. Moreover the extent to which teachers deteriorate is extraordinary, if obvious, and is directly due to the fact that they enter their profession purely and simply as a trade, of which they rapidly tire. Their intellectual resources are practically nil, and there is nothing for them to fall back upon but drink.

Then in the town schools. The same curriculum exactly as in the country schools, the same miserable subdivision into standards according to bodily age, irrespective of mental and physical age, the same disregard for local conditions, the same appalling ignorance in those whose trade it is to teach. Of course there are exceptions and many of them, but what are a few hundred good schools among twenty-two

thousand that are mediocre? Among the children there is an utter hatred of school as a place to be escaped from as often and as soon as possible, of teachers as bullies and tyrants, at least as enemies, who must be deceived on all possible occasions, avoided whenever possible, and despised at all times. Teachers themselves seem to be extraordinarily blind to all this. They themselves long for emancipation and think about little else than their amusements out of school hours. Many work extremely hard, but as they are not quite sure of their object in doing so, apart from the earning of their own living, the work is as ineffectual as all objectless work must be. Many teachers care little whether their children hate them or not. It is sometimes convenient even to avoid seeing the obvious signs of such hatred. The whole thing is a task, a hateful task for teachers and children alike, and both are eager to escape from it as soon as possible. Everything is unreal and unnatural. The curriculum provided for by the Board of Education in the Code of Regulations which is issued every year is quite reasonable if the teachers would only interpret it reasonably, but they will not. They simply go on, often at the expense of a great deal too much energy, lecturing, expounding, laying down the law and expecting the children to soak up information

and to acquire knowledge like so many intellectual sponges. Children love to be doing; they are told that they must do nothing but sit still and listen; they love to be thinking, they are told they shouldn't think; they love to talk and they are told to "keep silent." All this iniquitous proceeding in the name of Education. What in Heaven's name are our schools for, if not to teach our children to do, to think and to speak? Have we not examples, every day of our lives, that men, the first adult products of our new magnificent system of compulsory education, can neither do, nor think, nor say. They are at the mercy of anyone with sufficient plausibility to lead them by the nose. For five hours a day, for nearly ten months in the year, for often ten years of their lives, do children sit in these schools, having all the originality driven out of them, all their initiative atrophied, their senses dulled, their intellects neglected, in an attempt to manufacture the "average child"—a soulless imagination of a generation of teachers, a creature of no earthly use either to himself or anyone else.

The faculties that are so insistent upon expression in the child are inhibited in school life. Imagination, interest, desire for self-expression, all are denied an outlet. "Discipline must be maintained," therefore the child may

not ask questions. "Discipline must be maintained," therefore the child must not move in his place. In the name of this pseudo-discipline all imaginable iniquities are perpetrated. The very personality of the child is in fact denied. He is a tank and the teacher is a pump.

Of course the teachers deny all this and they are very angry indeed with anyone who ventures to assert it. The Editor of the *Schoolmaster* knows well enough how to dip his pen in the venom of sarcasm, and the *Schoolmaster* is the "oracle" as well as the "organ" of the teaching profession. But to a certain extent we must judge by results, not by paper results, statistics, exhibitions and the like, but by the character of the men who are turned out by the schools in millions. In what respect is the product of the elementary school better than his forefathers who knew no elementary schools? Is he really better or is he not possibly a man of less depth of character? To what extent has the school furnished him with ideals beyond eating and drinking and amusement? Certainly he can read and write, but *what* does he read and write, and what advantage does he receive from all his reading and writing? Of all that he has learnt in the elementary school, this proficiency (it is a word beloved by teachers) in reading, writing, and the mechanical operations of arithmetic

alone remains to him. He is supposed to have learnt history and geography, music, drawing, hygiene and citizenship, but they all go, and the time he unwillingly spent in learning them, is wasted.

It is quite impossible to give any impression in writing of the actual deadness of our schools. Few people have a real opportunity of judging it, for it must be seen and dwelt in to be believed, and there are few people in our elementary schools who are anything more than products of the same system whose faults they are blindly and ignorantly perpetuating. Inspectors come for perhaps two days in the year, sometimes more, sometimes not at all. They must be very clever if they are able to judge in such a time and on such occasions of the real life and spirit of the school. The slackest teacher is alive and tries to awaken his class by one incentive or another when the inspector is about. The general public can only judge by results, and it is only just beginning to realise what the results really are.

One thing is at the bottom of all this muddle, but it is all-important. The teachers do not realise their purpose. Many are quite incapable of doing so. It follows that their methods, their principles and their outlook are all wrong, and consequently the schools themselves. I have left out of the question all the debated matters

of vocational instruction, compulsory evening schools and the like. Our elementary schools are the only basis upon which we can work at all these things, and until the elementary schools are set in order, no reform is possible, and no educational ladder of the slightest value. We must have the firmest of foundations to build upon. We must realise that education means life, and that everything that has to do with education must mean life also; that education means development and that everything that has to do with education must mean development as well. The elementary school is the hope of the country, it has it in its power to lay the foundations of many noble lives. There was a time when the teacher was looked upon as guide, philosopher and friend; no one could pretend that he holds that position now, but he must regain it.

The evil that has taken possession of our schools is inherent in the present system. At the beginning of this chapter I referred to the old system of organisation because I think it is to that system that our present evils are due. Good teachers are few and far between. You cannot get them for forty pounds a year. Moreover it is not always convenient for the clerical Manager of a school to have as a teacher his equal in social position. Such a person may not

care to act as parish clerk. A clerical Manager once told me that I was too much of a gentleman to be a teacher. He did not mean it as a compliment but as a disqualification. I may say at once that though I object very strongly to clerical management because it opens the way to such very serious abuses, I am very strongly in favour of religious education in schools. Religion appeals to a part of a child's being which it would be madness to deny or to inhibit. But, is it not possible to have religious instruction in schools of the most strictly denominational type, without compelling the teachers to depend entirely upon the whims and fancies of one Manager? Surely compulsory hypocrisy is not an ideal condition for a teacher to be in, and by the very nature of the present system this must often be his case. A master in a voluntary school at the present day has only to have some slight difference with his clerical Manager, and in nine cases out of ten he may be dismissed on religious grounds without possibility of redress, for that Manager alone "manages" the schools in reality, the other five are purely ornamental.

Before we can raise the status of the schools, we must raise the status of the teacher. It is a serious and a difficult problem. You cannot form a ready-made body of perfect teachers, however much money you spend. But the fact

remains that so long as our teachers have no outlook and no knowledge except that gained in the very schools in which they will shortly teach, we can expect no change. It is not so much a matter of knowledge as of outlook and ideal. Knowledge is needed, but not nearly so much as sympathy in the fullest sense of the word. Child-knowledge is by no means synonymous with book-knowledge.

What I have said with regard to the elementary school applies, with nearly equal force, to the secondary school. The same narrowness of outlook, the same lack of adjustment to the requirements of life, the same unreality and artificiality characterise both types of school. You cannot, perhaps, accuse the secondary schoolmaster of being ignorant of the subjects he has to teach, but you may sometimes accuse him of being ignorant of mankind and the little ways of youth. If the elementary schoolmaster is in the hands of his Manager, the secondary schoolmaster is still more in the hands of his Headmaster. But I am always brought back to the thought that, after all, it is the elementary school that matters. Ninety-five or more out of every hundred men and women pass through the elementary school. Their intellects, to a large extent, their characters, are formed there. Could anything in the world be more important, then,

than the efficiency of the elementary school? Not a machine-like efficiency, but a human efficiency. We are faced with a future of social disturbance and unrest. Are we going to allow the generation which is growing up to be at the mercy of any demagogue who appears, because, as a whole, it is incapable of sound thinking and reasoning for itself? The matter is important, and it will allow of no delay. As a nation, we are the slowest people on earth when it comes to making up our mind and turning our hand to reform. We never seem to see that we may some day be too late. We are nearing that time day by day. I am moved to quote that very hackneyed remark of Horace Mann's that, in matters of education, "one former is worth a thousand reformers." Sometimes it is impossible even to reform.

CHAPTER III

EDUCATION AND MODERN SCIENCE

No greater mistake has ever been made by educationists in the past than that of considering education as one of the exact sciences. No theory could be more false or more detrimental to the interests of mankind. No two of us are exactly alike ; heredity brings various influences to act upon us, our environment changes from day to day. Hence it follows that what was sufficient for our fathers is not sufficient for us, and that when we ourselves come to help in the education of our children, we must look, not at our own past, not even at the present, but toward the future. We must try to foresee the necessities of the next generation so that our children may be prepared and forearmed, and may develop along those lines which will best fit them for the struggle that is to come. It is not altogether easy to do this, but it is not impossible. We have the experience of the past to guide us, and although it is essential that we should not become the slaves of tradition, we may still

make full use of the experience which the world has gained. Moreover, during the past half century, science, especially what we may call human science, has made such strides that educationists of the present day stand in a far better position than their predecessors. if they will only take advantage of all that has been discovered with regard to the body, the mind and, perhaps, the soul of the human boy. Unfortunately, teachers will, apparently, do nothing of the sort. They persist in treating the child as a chemical compound. They weigh up his body and his mind in so many ounces and pounds, and if he does not come up to the pre-ordained standard for little boys, they shake their heads and say they will have to make him. So they put him in an imaginary mortar and set to work to pound him up. The scientists are sometimes almost as bad. They have their psychical laboratories where they dissect the infantile soul, and their observation schools where they treat their specimens with the utmost scientific care, experiment upon them, trace the reactions, and develop theories in accordance with results. The teacher looks upon the child as a block of virgin marble to be chiselled and hammered and shaped, and the scientist as an unknown element which needs to be discovered by means of experiment and diligent observation. Both, of

course, are wrong, though the scientist is nearer to the truth. He merely forgets that the only way to discover the real child, his real corporality and mentality, is to observe him without appearing to do so, in his natural actions, and among his natural surroundings, when he is doing what he pleases and not performing some directed action, the meaning of which he does not in the least understand. But the teacher with his block of marble theory is an utter failure, for observation never enters into his head.

There is another method of child study that is called psycho-analysis, but, as its name threatens, it should be used with caution. Adults very often try to imagine what they themselves would have done in certain circumstances, and to put themselves in the place of the child whose conduct they are judging. This would be an admirable proceeding if it would work, but it will not. Whether we will or not, as we grow older the child spirit leaves most of us; we cannot see with the child's eyes, or understand with the child's mind. We may, we ought to try, but we can never be sure of success. Memory, too, is a very unsafe guide; we may remember, in a general way, some of the feelings of our childhood, but that is all.

Since we have nothing perfectly tangible to

work upon, the science of child study, if it can be called a science, must remain free from the definitions and axioms of other sciences. It is therefore impossible for me to lay down any theories or rules in connection with the matter, but the fact remains that each individual child should be studied most carefully, and not only studied but treated in accordance with the peculiarities, both of mind and body, that are made known by this study. A mere fleeting glance will not suffice for the purpose, and it would be a very good thing indeed if every sensible teacher went about the business systematically. By this I do not mean that he should sit down at his desk, call his children before him and examine them singly, noting down their eccentricities and deformities one by one, while the children stand by with their mouths open, but that he should keep some kind of definite and regular record of the particular facts which it is requisite that he should know. Moreover, it will be necessary that he should co-operate with the other teachers in his school, or else a great deal of valuable help in the business of teaching will be wasted.

Under the present system of medical inspection, of which I shall have something more to say shortly, each child has a dossier which is kept (locked up !) throughout his school life. Upon

this are recorded the results of the infrequent inspections of the School Medical Officer. The teacher, who is far more in touch with the child than the doctor can ever hope to be, might well supplement this by keeping a general and more detailed dossier from the day on which the child enters the school until the day of his leaving it. He would note upon this general remarks with regard to health, predispositions to disease, etc.,¹ which he could ascertain by careful enquiry from the parents when they bring the child to school, the results of his observations of bodily characteristics according to a simplified adaptation of the Bertillon system, the size and shape of the head, the condition of the skin, the eyes, and the general proportions of the whole body. Then he would note any changes that occurred from time to time, together with remarks upon muscular development, fitness for bodily and mental exercises, and observations with regard to activity, movement, expression, gait, control, etc. The child's character and its peculiarities should also be carefully studied.

We do not need all these details for their own sake, but for the help they are able to afford us when we desire to *understand* the child, that we may be able to detect the symptoms of some-

¹ Appendix C, p. 284.

thing wrong in his bodily and mental health, and also that we may proportion his work and his play to his strength.

This means a great deal of trouble for the teacher, but it is productive of such important results that no teacher worth the name would ever grudge it. It may mean everything for the child, a rescue from incurable bodily disease or from insanity. The observations must be made as far as possible without the knowledge of the child, or they will lose half their value even if they do not become positively misleading. But it is only by some such means as these that the teacher will come to realise the differences which exist between individual children; to appreciate the fallacy of the "average child" idea, and to make sure that every one of his children obtains the best that his school can give him. Moreover he will be storing up information and experience that will be most useful to future generations.

But quite apart from the knowledge of the child which the teacher will by this means acquire for himself, he must take advantage of the knowledge which others have acquired for him. I propose to devote the remainder of this chapter to a statement of some of the facts which modern science has discovered for us which have an intimate relation to the life and welfare of the child whether physical, mental or moral. It is

essential that we should at last wake up to a sense of our responsibilities in this matter, for there can be no doubt that up to the present our schools have had their share in the work of national deterioration. The apathy of politicians and the ignorance of teachers are equally to blame. There are so many things that we do which are wrong, still more that we don't do which are right, and a host of fallacies and false impressions under which we work. We will take some of them in order in a moment. But a word of warning is first necessary.

Recent researches in Biology and its kindred sciences have shed much light upon the periods of infancy, childhood and adolescence in man. It must be remembered, however, that we are only upon the threshold of greater discoveries in these branches of science, and that our knowledge is still but rudimentary. It is necessary to make this reservation, for there are many so-called educationists who seize upon some new point which they profess to have discovered, and this they proceed to magnify and discourse upon until their one pet idea becomes a whole educational theory. Thus, I am told, in one of the schools of Boston in the United States, where experiments in education are the rule, the teacher uses two blackboards, one on the wall and the other on the floor. He has one piece of chalk in

his hand and another attached to his boot, and he writes upon the two blackboards with hand and foot simultaneously. In this way, he declares, his ideas pass through his whole body. In Boston too, I believe, there is a wonderful teacher who has discovered that real education is assured only by a system of physical exercises, and in her school, problems in arithmetic are solved by the aid of dumb-bells. These are two somewhat exaggerated examples of people who have discovered a grain of truth, and lost sight of every other truth. Such persons are more than harmful to the cause of education, for they attract a great deal of attention, and their dreadful example is quoted, quite unreasonably, by the old type of teacher, as a picture of what would certainly happen if our schools were handed over to those whom it pleases them to term faddists. Even in these early days of the Montessori method, schools are being opened and classes formed which their founders dignify with the names of Montessori, but which possess nothing of that great teacher but the name and the material, the mere externals of a system that is essentially internal.

When a new idea is presented to us, we should endeavour, by investigation and the use of reason, to give it a fair trial, and then adapt it to our needs and use it. We have, however, already learnt quite enough to be able to agree with Dr.

F. E. Bolton¹ when he says : " The education of a child is a problem of life, not of an inert lump of putty : a problem of biology, not of physics ; a problem of kinetics not of statics." We have learnt to understand in some degree the mysteries of heredity, of transmitted tendencies and the influence of environment upon them ; we have realised the wonderful way in which Nature strives to adapt each one of her creatures to the circumstances in which it must exist. Here surely is a lesson for the teacher. We are beginning to appreciate and to comprehend the method of human development, social and individual, and this may help us to foresee the requirements of future generations, that we may set about laying the foundations to-day. We can trace the development of the nervous system, and realise the necessity of safeguarding it from undue shock, and of providing suitable outlets for nervous energy so that the danger of arrested growth may be avoided here as well as in the more purely physical life. What could be more important to the teacher than a full understanding of Von Baer's law, " The individual in its development passes through or recapitulates the various stages which the race has passed through in reaching the stage represented by the individual." It is by paying attention to such points as

¹ " Principles of Education, 1911."

these that we learn the points of difference between the child and the adult ; to anticipate the mental and physical changes that will occur in him, and the all-important fact that what we have long considered " marks of the beast " are really normal instincts ; natural, inherited impulses striving for self-expression, which it is our duty as educators to allow for and to direct. Sometimes the very characteristics of the child which we find so hard to tolerate, are related to those activities which will ultimately make the boy into a real man. Biology teaches us the grave danger of neglecting any one of these natural impulses, for once the period of their appearance is past, they will never return, and if we have stifled them in the least degree, the child's character will remain stunted and undeveloped.

We learn also from these sciences the order in which the various activities come into action, and the way in which they should be treated. We realise the motives that will act as an incentive to action. In short, we learn the most important truth that in education the child himself must be our guide and teach us how to direct him.

From psychology and physiology we learn the interdependence of mind and body, the balance that it is necessary to hold between mental work and physical work, the reactions that follow

one and the other. We learn also to understand the development of the mind, its capacity at various ages, and what is perhaps more important, its incapacity. All these things are most useful to the student of child life, and before any one can become a real teacher he must be such a student. He will need to understand the sciences, but if he grasps the true import of what has been discovered, he will realise that the quality he most must cultivate is that of living comprehension. There must be none of the dry-as-dust attitude about him, and above all he must *love* the child, for without a real love for children, all his knowledge will be useless. The average teacher of the present day knows little about all these things; he still regards himself more as a drill sergeant than as a teacher. He may indeed *say* that he does not, but his actions speak louder than any words, and his failure is more eloquent still. Up to the present, education has proved a failure from every conceivable point of view. Now is the time to make it a success. We stand only at the threshold of knowledge so far as the science of human life is concerned. Increased knowledge will mean increased educational power, but we must first take advantage of the knowledge we have already gained.

Let us begin with the mistakes we are in the habit of making. One of our most wicked blunders

is the system of classification according to age. There is not the slightest doubt that children vary to an enormous extent in both mental and physical capacity at a given age. To compel a child to do certain work because he happens to be a certain age is therefore both absurd and cruel. Yet this is what we are doing every day in our elementary schools in every class from the babies to the top of the school. The system is abominable from every point of view. It is convenient at the outset, and that is all that can be said in its favour. Moreover, bodily age and mental age do not always correspond. It will therefore be necessary to devise some method for providing separate opportunities for the development of mind and body. There are certain tests, both physiological and psychological, which need not savour of the laboratory if they are properly applied, which may well serve as a guide to classification.¹ At present, the universal system of examination combined with the age test, reigns supreme in our schools at the cost of an incalculable amount of useless suffering and a corresponding loss of efficiency. Besides, the examination test when applied to purely mental processes may be extremely misleading.

Take the case of the mentally defective children in our schools. Such children are always

¹ Appendix B, p. 280.

more liable to suffer from neglect than those who suffer physically. There is always a large percentage, comparatively speaking, of mentally defective children in our ordinary elementary schools, and a much larger proportion of partially defective or backward children, as our teachers usually call them in error. This is good neither for the sufferers themselves nor for the class.

The mentally defective child is even more hardly treated than his physically defective brother. With the mentality of a child of seven he is placed in a class of normal ten-year-old children, just because he happens to be ten years old. He is sneered at and bullied by his companions, sometimes even by his teacher, and instead of improving, he rapidly reaches a pitch of desperation out of which no power on earth can drag him. In this manner he develops a kind of crafty, cruel cunning, a desire to "get his own back," which he indulges upon creatures weaker than himself, whenever he can find an opportunity. We do not realise the importance of this mentally defective element in our schools, because it is not so evident as the physically defective. We take few steps to discover the real reason for a child's backwardness; we do not trouble in the least about his mental difficulties and trials. Here and there, there are more than usually enlightened teachers who

realise the importance of the matter, and who go out of their way to try and make things better and to lighten the lot of these unfortunate children, but their number is very few, and they meet with little encouragement. Here, again, is a reason for the abolition of the system of classification according to age. It is a cruel, even a murderous system, and together with certain concomitant features of school life, responsible for a great deal of the insanity which increases in this country year by year.

Once again we must learn a lesson from Germany. The Germans have realised that mental disease leads to crime; that when it is allowed to reproduce itself it serves to bring about the deterioration of the race, and that an unattached, naturally improvident section of the community, which is unable to hold its own, and is, consequently, a prey to all the wickedness and cruelty in the world, is a great source of weakness to a nation. Yet, according to the Report of the Chief Medical Officer of the Board of Education, from which I have quoted before, we do practically nothing in the matter. The percentage of feeble-mindedness varies from .05% to 2.6%. There are approximately forty-eight thousand such children in our public elementary schools, and about twelve thousand for whom some form of special provision is made. "We need (*a*) more accurate and

useful classification, including the differentiation of the educable from the ineducable, and appropriate grouping.

“(b) More practical, manual and industrial training (there is but one school where mentally defective girls are able to learn how they may make a living, and the results have been wonderfully successful), and this must be adapted not only to the degree of mental defect, but also to the age, sex, and physical capacity and requirements of the child.

“(c) More vigilant and effective after care, not merely a collection of statistics, but the careful following up of all cases, rendering assistance in obtaining occupation, promoting the welfare of and maintaining connection with and interest in the children who have left the schools by means of societies, clubs, etc.

“(d) Power to establish and assist residential institutions or colonies for providing custodial care for the ineducable class, including power of detention when necessary.”

In German towns where the system has been fully organised, careful and repeated trials are given to children who appear to be in any way defective. If they fail to keep pace with the regular standard, they are visited at home and sent for a while to special classes where the question of their educability is definitely decided.

Inspector, teacher and doctor form a small committee for this purpose. If the child fails to respond to the special instruction provided in this extra class, he is sent to an institution for the feeble-minded. In France there is a somewhat similar system. I have already referred to the English method of dealing with the matter. What are the results? We fill our reformatory schools with mentally abnormal boys and girls; we fill our prisons with mentally abnormal men and women; our workhouses are very largely filled with feeble-minded of both sexes and of all ages. The actual percentage in our workhouses ranges between ten and twenty. Then, according to Dr. Rentoul, one person out of every two hundred and eighty is in an asylum. But there are other results more horrible than these, results which it is impossible to discuss here in any detail. Mr. H. M. Halliday, in the *Eugenics Review*, quotes the case of a girl, evidently both mentally defective and consumptive, who has had "two poor children, one by her father, the other undoubtedly by her brother." Another case, almost exactly like this, came under my own observation in one of the schools in which I was the Head-master.

The positive aspect of the case we neglect entirely. Do we ever fully realise, for example, the part that education might play in reducing

the terrible drain upon the strength of the nation which is consequent upon the enormous rate of infantile mortality. True, it no longer reaches the terrible limits that were almost universal twenty years ago, but the figures are still enormous. This is very largely due to the ignorance of parents, and in this direction there lies a great educational field to be opened up. Desultory instruction given in a bookish fashion, will never do any good, and the live, experimental teaching of mothercraft and housewifery which is at present confined to a few special schools must become a feature of every school throughout the country. And why should such instruction be confined to girls? So far, isolated experiments have been made, but nothing more. This is the only way by which we may secure a healthy infancy for our children. At the present day, it is often pitiful to see the condition of the thousands of babies who are brought to school for the first time. Strangely enough, the children of the very poor are by no means always the greatest sufferers.

Then there is the question of Medical Inspection. Five years ago the authorities at last woke up to a sense that they must do something, and instituted a system of medical inspection of schools. Perhaps they would say that it has not yet had time to get into working order, but

if it develops along the present line it never will. Everything seems to depend upon the keenness of the local authorities, and this keenness is sometimes absent altogether. Everywhere there is a want of co-operation between those who alone could ensure some useful result. In country districts, especially, the medical inspection often resolves itself into a mere accumulation of statistics. A few children are examined once a year, and every child is supposed to have its turn every three years. The children are medically inspected, it is true, but what is the intrinsic value of medical inspection? In very many places there is no provision whatever for medical or surgical treatment. A few towns and country districts *assist* in the provision of spectacles, but they do not *insist* upon it when it is necessary. There are a few towns, such as Bradford, which offer an example of how the work should be done, but they are few and far between. Abroad a great deal more has already been accomplished than we have attempted. Germany, especially in such towns as Hamburg, has done far more than we in the formation of medical and dental clinics where children may receive attention so long as it is needed.

According to the Report of the Medical Officer of the Board of Education for 1910, a central committee for the care of teeth in schools had

been responsible up to that year for the foundation of seventy-eight dental clinics, eight of which are in towns of less than ten thousand inhabitants. At the time at which the report was written, forty-one other authorities were on the point of establishing clinics. The children are usually selected at school by the dentists themselves. In Berlin, out of a school population of 230,000 children, over 25,000 were examined in one year. Sixteen rooms were occupied for the purpose, and fitted up at an initial capital outlay of about nine hundred pounds, and at an annual cost for salaries of eleven hundred pounds. The average cost per child treated amounted to elevenpence. In England we have done nothing to correspond with this magnificent work, although, as the Chief Medical Officer says in the same report, "No single ailment which school children suffer from is responsible directly or indirectly for a larger proportion of delicacy and disease, including constitutional disease, which is found at every turn to handicap efficiency, both physical and mental." He says again, "In no form of disease probably is treatment more necessary or attended with more satisfactory results." How long shall we content ourselves with collecting statistics upon the matter?

We do a great deal for those children who are afflicted with very serious physical disabilities,

and very little for those who suffer, either mentally or physically, from complaints that require a little attention to prevent their becoming worse. In very many cases, these incipient diseases have been aggravated by the regular routine of school life. This is especially the case with regard to affections of the eyes. Dr. Kohn, an eminent German physician, discovered that in the lower classes of German schools, twenty-two per cent. - of the children suffered from defective eyesight, while in the higher classes the percentage increased to fifty-eight. The strain upon the nervous system that results from defective eyesight is responsible for many of those maladies that come from overtaxed attention in one form or another. This is only one of the instances that might be given to show that our present school system pays very little real attention to the physical health and requirements of the children. Yet without a firm foundation of physical health, what is the use of all our schooling? The wretched "average child" fallacy which insists upon treating children as automata, pure and simple, bodiless, nerveless and soulless, is responsible for a host of evils.

One point that we have begun to understand is that a child cannot reap the benefit of the instruction he receives unless he is properly fed. There are some who object, on what they are

pleased to call principle, to the feeding of necessitous school children. They should go to one of the slum schools in the heart of a large town and see for themselves the condition in which thousands of poor children are compelled to come to school. If the State can make the parents pay for the cost of this feeding in schools, well and good, but in any case the children must be fed. In Paris and, I believe, throughout France, the feeding of school children is excellently managed. The children whose parents can afford it pay three halfpence: those who have no money pay nothing, but they all sit down to a three-course lunch at a table covered with a tablecloth. They bring their own table napkins and whatever they like to drink. They are looked after by attendants specially engaged for the purpose. In the *écoles professionnelles pour jeunes filles*, the girls take turns in preparing and serving this midday meal. There is also a simple breakfast provided for those who really need it before the morning session begins. The whole system seems to work without the slightest difficulty.

Our schools are supposed to teach the advantages of physical cleanliness. This might be done in a more practical way. In Germany, school baths have long been a regular institution. They are not luxurious and they are not expensive, but they serve their purpose and are enjoyed by

the children. If we had some of them in England, a great deal of the unpleasantness of an elementary school in one of the poor quarters of our large towns would be obviated. They should not be confined to the towns. Cleanliness is as necessary in the country as it is in the town, but we are always ready to assume that educational and hygienic provision need be made for the towns alone.

By the provision of means such as these, by the thorough and ruthless destruction of insanitary and joy-destroying school buildings, and by the establishment of rational courses of work and play, we may do much to make education not antagonistic, but an aid to physical and moral well-being.

Then there are our pet fallacies, one of which may be called the "games" or "physical exercises" fallacy. Our universities and public schools have always been renowned for the attention they have paid to games. They have gone, perhaps, a little too far in this direction, and glorified this feature of school life at the expense of other and more serious elements. On the other hand, the elementary schools have done much less than they should have done. It is easy to run to extremes on both sides. There are many schools where games are compulsory. This compulsion is based on a false physiological

principle. Games are valuable only in so far as they are the response to the expression of a physical need. They in no way counteract the fatigue caused by mental work, and organised games are not the sole means by which bodily development may be attained. According to Mr. C. B. Andrews¹: "No greater mistake has ever been made than the prevalent idea that mental development ceases when school time is over, and purely bodily development takes place in the playground." Organised games are, perhaps, more valuable for the mental discipline they encourage than for the purely physical results with which they are generally credited. But there is no doubt that the elementary schools with their neglect of play as a means of physical development have gone equally far, and with much less justification, in the opposite direction. There are thousands of schools where the sole attention paid to bodily development is confined to the one hour a week spent in perfunctory physical exercises. The absurd and useless manner in which these physical exercises are sometimes carried out must be seen to be believed. Out of the hour devoted to them, perhaps half is occupied in the exercises themselves, and as there is nothing particularly interesting about them the children are inclined to look upon them

¹ "The Study of Adolescent Education," Reberman, 1912.

as a bore. The child in the elementary school is not a physical culture crank with brilliant ideas with regard to the necessity of concentrating his mind upon the exercises he is performing. The result is that the time spent upon formal physical exercises is wasted, and no benefit results. There is no need for such a waste of time. Free play and free physical labour, free in the sense that the child may begin when he feels inclined and leave off when he feels tired, and real play and real work in the child's sense and not in the adult's sense—these natural exercises are finer and more beneficial than all the regular physical exercises ever invented. We are not aiming at the manufacture of professional athletes, but at the production of strong and healthy men and women, and this is the way to obtain them.

Very few of us are perfectly normal at every period of our lives. The period of adolescence is perhaps the most critical of all our dangerous periods, both physically and mentally. To a certain extent we take into consideration the physical changes that mark the coming of puberty, though not to a sufficiently great extent, but no allowance is made for the accompanying mental and nervous disturbances. We lose sight of the all-important inter-relation between mind and body, and the result—recognised by the physician if not by the teacher—is

an extraordinarily unnecessary loss of life and health, and also the formation of what may be termed habits of mental and physical disease that will continue as long as life itself. Very often a little comprehension on the part of the teacher, a little allowance for an abnormal state of mind and body, would prevent all this. Never more than at this period is the child susceptible to sympathy and suggestion. I cannot, in the space of this book, which is not a treatise on mental pathology, suggest any further points in connection with the matter, but there can be no doubt that the school of the future will give far more attention to the question than has been given in the past, or is being given at present.

It may be objected that all this has nothing to do with education. Nothing could be more untrue. The question is important educationally, because it is the work of a wise and sympathetic system to counteract and overcome the tendency to become mentally defective which, at the present day, is unconsciously encouraged by our vicious methods of teaching, and our outrageous system of classification. It is important also in that much of the present state of affairs is undoubtedly due to ignorance, and this it is a function of the school to dispel. Right down at the root of most of the trouble in the world

is the question of sex. Yet it is a matter which we invariably agree to shirk when we are dealing with children. I do not for a moment suggest that there is any need to give the subject any undue prominence, but an adolescent child recognises sex as a fact, while we his elders are wasting our time in trying to persuade him that it is not. I believe it to be the duty of every teacher who cares for the welfare of his children to remove the scales from his eyes by reading such a book as Dr. Havelock Ellis's "Studies in the Psychology of Sex." It is not a matter of inclination but of duty.

There are many more connecting links between science and education, the importance of which will only be fully realised with the lapse of time, but I think this realisation of the inter-relation and inter-action is perhaps the most important of all,—the influence of mind upon body and of body upon mind. Other facts to be taken into consideration are the mystery of suggestion, the influence of a continued train of ideas upon the formation of the mind, and indeed the body also. There is the importance of the factor of interest, without which an accumulation of knowledge is valueless, and the question of fatigue, which through a misunderstanding of its nature and the means of counteracting it, may become a continual state. These are all ques-

tions of the utmost importance to the teacher, but of which, up to the present, he has remained profoundly ignorant. The attitude of mind with which such subjects are regarded is also of the greatest importance. Professors of biology may write treatises upon their science ; professors of pedagogy may adapt that knowledge to their own beloved cranks and fancies. The teacher, whose strongest emotion is a passion for conservatism, seems incapable of interest, still less of action, in anything outside his old traditional sphere. There he remains and desires to remain for ever. The great problem that lies before us is the transformation of this inert mass of professionalism and traditionalism into a body filled with life and interest, prepared to take advantage of every means and every opportunity that may serve for the benefit of the children of the nation, and for the raising up of a generation, not of supermen, but of men and women, fully developed morally, physically and intellectually. The possibilities are enormous, and they will not be achieved without an effort.

CHAPTER IV

EDUCATION AND THE SMALL CHILD

THE very first duty of the State is obviously to provide for its children. In itself it is only a glorified family. Sooner or later the State will begin to realise its obligations and make sure that all its children shall have a fair chance at their birth. At present millions of children do not get this fair chance. For the year 1909 the average death rate for children between the ages of one and five amounted to the enormous figure of 109 per thousand. In some places it is double that to-day. Moreover, a high death rate among young children means that a very large proportion of these who do survive are afflicted with disease, general ill-health and feebleness both of mind and body. When we come to look at the conditions under which so many children are born and spend the first years of their lives, it seems wonderful that the rate of mortality is not still higher. In industrial districts a very large proportion of mothers return to work within a week or two of the birth of their children. Under

existing circumstances they are often obliged to do so in order to gain a livelihood for themselves and their children. What are the children to do when their mothers are thus obliged to leave them? The mother goes out early in the morning and, except for a short period during the dinner hour, does not return again until late at night. The wretched child is left to the care of other children who prefer to play, to the neighbour who has something else to do, or to some old woman who finds her task considerably lightened by the administration of a little gin. When the mother does return, very frequently she has not the faintest idea of the way in which a baby should be treated. All kinds of horrors are perpetrated in the process of "minding" children. In one of our large towns I have seen, over and over again, tiny babies being fed upon beer and chipped potatoes. How can any one expect children to survive after such a diet? How long is the State going to allow this decimating process to continue? The stamina of the race is gradually but surely deteriorating all the time. We cannot base our conclusions with regard to the question of physical deterioration upon the prowess displayed by some favoured individuals who break records at the university sports or at the Olympic Games. For one such person there are a thousand undersized

weaklings in the slums, and it is upon the people in the slums and in the back streets that we shall one day be thrown back. With the important subject of Eugenics I cannot deal here, but with birth begins that process of education which does not end before death. The parent is the natural educator, and in the ideal State the mother would always be free to attend to her child. Unfortunately, we are very far from that ideal to-day, and whilst it is the duty of statesmen to reform the existing economic conditions which are responsible for the failure of the mother to carry out her natural duties, we must be practical and discover the next best thing that is feasible in the immediate future.

The provision of day nurseries or *crèches* is the first step, and a most necessary one. In France such a system has been in vogue for the last sixty years. To these *crèches* mothers should be obliged to bring their children if they are unable to show that they are receiving proper attention elsewhere. The *crèche* would open very early in the morning and close comparatively late at night. The establishment of such nurseries would mean the abolition of baby-farming and an inconceivably great improvement in the physique of thousands of children, while the cost would be exceedingly slight. In the case of those mothers who could afford to pay, a small sum might be

charged and collected upon the same principle as that made for the feeding of children in accordance with the Education (Provision of Meals) Act of 1907.

There are great educational possibilities in store for such a system of day nurseries. They should form an integral part of the school system, though, of course, no formal instruction would be given in any of them. In connection with the *crèche*, and for the older of the babies, a series of classes should be established which would take the place of the lower classes of the present Infant School. In this way a great many difficulties might be solved. At the present time, children of three sit stolidly in classes like children of eight; regular timetables are arranged for them, and a species of instruction is religiously imparted to them. An enlightened teacher, who realises both the futility and the cruelty of such a system, is hampered on all sides by the difficulty of maintaining what is called discipline. Even a very small child will in time learn the necessity and the advantages of order and self-control, but time is needed and the atmosphere of the more formal school is not that best suited for the purpose.

What is to be done with these babies? In large towns the ideal plan would be to have centres where the children might be collected, as

physically defective children are now, and taken to a nursery in the suburbs. The size of the nursery would naturally depend upon the number of children to be provided for, but the largest should not hold more than two hundred children. I do not know of any existing nurseries arranged upon this principle, but the Cadbury Open Air School at Uffculme, near Birmingham, might serve as a model which could be adapted. This school consists of a main block (dining-room, kitchen, shower baths and one classroom) and three detached pavilion classrooms, the north wall being solid and the other three sides of each room fitted with folding glass screens. These classrooms are heated by low pressure steam. It is difficult to imagine any style of building more suitable for the purposes of a day nursery. The only apparatus required would be cots for the small babies and didactic material for those who were old enough to walk. Nurses would be needed for the babies, and trained teachers of the right kind for the others. When we consider that we already provide schools for maltreating children of three, it becomes evident that the extra expense of providing for the babies would not amount to very much, and when balanced against the loss of life and health which is the rule at present, it should be counted as an exceedingly good investment.

Education begins with the physical life of the child. He is engaged in "finding" himself; in developing the least complex and most fundamental muscular activities. We can only help him to do so by leaving him free to kick about, and by providing him with large balls and other toys that he can use and like. All opportunity for physical development should be afforded him. Complex apparatus is useless and unnecessary, for the child only appreciates things as a whole. When he shows signs of wanting to pull himself about, he should be afforded every facility for doing so. In all his movements and attempts at movement he is only following the guidance of Nature.

As soon as he is able to control the movements of his body he is ready to begin to learn, not, indeed, in the way in which we have been pleased to teach him in the past, but according to the rational methods that will prevail in the future. We are far from realising the great importance of the earliest years of childhood, and the bearing they have upon the after life of the child. A great French educationist, Madame Pujol-Ségalas, the head of the Montessori School at Paris, once said to me that a child who is improperly educated before the age of seven, can never become a real man, and I believe that she was right. Froebel and Pestalozzi, the two men

whose theories have most influenced the trend of even present-day education, both believed in the super-eminent importance of the early training of the child. But in all that we do, we must remember that home and Nature are two ideal schools, and that when circumstances, economic or otherwise, force us away from the home, we must still try to preserve the home spirit and remain as closely in touch with Nature as we can. Classroom education, even at its best, is only a part of education. It is possible that even the Dottorressa Montessori, whose principles and methods I am going to describe very shortly, has neglected, to a certain extent, the educational value of life in the open air, in the fields and in the woods. Such a life is natural to us ; we are only driven into the towns by the force of circumstances. The child unconsciously requires the simpler and more natural life, and so far as lies in our power, we must try and provide him with it.

Madame Montessori's first schools or children's houses were founded very much upon the principle of the day nurseries which I have advocated. There is no organised system of infant schools in Rome, and the builder of a number of tenement houses invited Dr. Montessori to found a series of schools where the children of those who lived in his houses might go during the day. In this

way was initiated an educational experiment which has aroused the interest of the world, and which unquestionably will have very far-reaching results. Madame Montessori's principle, put quite shortly, is that the child is provided by nature with instincts and interests which are of the utmost educational value. By means of these activities the child is able to teach himself, if he is provided with suitable didactic material. The function of the teacher is not to impart a certain amount of information, still less to make things easier for the child, but to observe him, to show him the way when he asks to be shown, and to put him in the way of doing things for himself. The didactic material has been arranged to suit the capacity of the child and takes into account the fact that neither his physical nor his mental development is complete. Madame Montessori makes no use of command, reward or punishment, for she considers that none of these incentives is needed.

Anything more unlike the accepted idea of what a school should be it is impossible to conceive. There are little wicker chairs and tables instead of desks; there are no copybooks or elaborate kindergarten apparatus. In the true Montessori school there is none of that fetish-worship of material that so often characterises the pseudo-Froebelian school. There is apparently

no order, but there is certainly no confusion. Some of the children are perhaps asleep, others in the garden, others again lying on the floor making use of some of the material that is too large for the table. There is the busy hum of the beehive—the buzz of energy, not the silence of forced inanition.

Among the critics of what is called the Montessori method it is the custom to fix upon some part of Madame Montessori's ideas or her way of carrying them into execution, and then because it does not agree with their preconceived ideas, they ridicule and jeer at it. Now there is this difference between Madame Montessori and her critics. She does not pretend to have in any way approached finality. She has, by actual working, developed certain theories, and these theories she has discovered, also by actual experience, will produce excellent results. She has stated both her theory and her practice, and that is all. It is always open to those who choose, so bitterly and aggressively, to attack Madame Montessori and her work, to show that they can do anything better or even nearly as good. They *never* do. They have not seen, and they will not believe. But at least they should refrain from the abuse of those who have seen, and who cannot deny the experience of their own eyes. These critics should also use a little discretion. Every one

who professes to be a Christian is not necessarily one, and every one who chooses to make money under false pretences by assuming the name and style of a Montessori teacher is not necessarily anything of the sort. Moreover, there are cranks and faddists connected unofficially with every movement, new and old. The system should be judged, not by the results obtained by these people, but by the fruits that never fail to show themselves under the conditions that must necessarily accompany a fair trial. The Montessori method needs no apology. It is its own apology, but the public needs some protection against the misapprehensions that must inevitably result from the deliberate belittling of Madame Montessori's work, and the interested attempt to create a perfectly false impression of her theory and practice, by taking one simple idea, separating it entirely from its context and all that would go to explain and justify it.

Madame Montessori holds that occupation is a surer means to order and self-control than "discipline" in the usually accepted sense of the word, or punishment. She has tried her theory and it works. What more can be said? It *does* work, and no occasion for the old-fashioned methods of preserving order ever presents itself. Are we so fond of rewarding, threatening and punishing for their own sake, that we must resort

to them when they are no longer needed? Madame Montessori has never pretended that a child of ten will respond instantly to the methods which so far she has only used for children under seven. He must first get rid of the influence of his former teachers, whether parents or others. One does not change horses in mid-stream and expect immediately to attain the speed of the Derby. All that Montessorians (if I may be allowed to coin that word) ask, is that the method should be given a fair trial and judged on its merits. So far, whenever this has been done, it has succeeded.

But the very words "method" and "system" are objectionable when used in connection with the principles of Madame Montessori. There is no system and there is no method. When you admit, as the Dottoressa does, that no two children are alike, it follows that instead of having one method and one system for all children, you have as many methods and as many systems as there are children. There are certain principles, and these we have to thank Madame Montessori for enunciating, but the principles are not hers but Nature's. All that remains for each teacher to do, is to apply these principles of Nature in a natural manner. This and this alone is the so-called Montessori method, and Madame Montessori herself would be the first to admit the fact.

Let us see how it works out. A class is begun with twenty or thirty children who have never been to school before. The actual number is immaterial. A teacher is sought whose chief characteristic is patience in the very highest degree, rather than one of the bustling, competent type. She must be content to watch, to keep herself as far as possible in a secondary position and (*rara avis*) her mouth shut. This is absolutely essential. You might as well set an Astronomer Royal to teach Sanskrit, as place one of our ordinary elementary school teachers in charge of a Montessori class.

The first exercises are practical and aim at the cultivation of the senses, for the senses are the gates which lead to the hidden faculties, and these hidden faculties cannot express themselves without the help of the senses. Hence the necessity for beginning with them. I imagine that the sight of a Montessori class in process of formation would shock many people. The apparent lack of cohesion, the disorder, the absence of all signs of discipline would be perfectly incomprehensible and repulsive to the formal teacher. The instinct to do things for the child, to order and to direct his movements, has become so ingrained within us. But it is surely better that the advantages of order and self-control should be learnt by experience rather than by precept, and that the social

sense should be developed by practice rather than by compulsion. By degrees the disorder will cease, but we must have patience to wait until it does so, and then we shall find that it comes to an end quite spontaneously, and without the introduction of any external element.

The schools which Madame Montessori directed in the Roman tenement buildings opened at nine, and closed at four, the children remaining for lunch. It would be useless for me to give her time-table, for, in the sense that we use the word in our schools, she had no time-table. When the children come to school, they are inspected, and shown how to wash and dress themselves properly. When this has been done, they set to work to clean up the room in which they will spend the day. They use ordinary dust-cloths and brushes, in fact, every kind of apparatus that their mothers use at home. Then, for the rest of the morning, they are occupied exactly as they please. It is said that very occasionally a child does not wish to fall into line with the others in their occupations. He is not compelled to do so. He is treated as though he is to be pitied rather than blamed, and given a table and a chair apart from the others, and any toys that he cares to play with. It is always found that, after a little while, he notices the occupations of the others, and after watching them for a short time, wishes to

take his place with them. When this happens, he is allowed to join them, and no notice is taken of the obstinacy and wilfulness he has previously displayed. It never happens a second time, and except in the case of those children whom some one has spoiled, it never happens at all. Simple gymnastics, free games, manual work and the use of the special didactic material that Madame Montessori herself has devised, comprise the greater part of the curriculum. It must not be forgotten that the children are very young. They take their lunch on the school premises, and the lunch is served by the children themselves with the greatest simplicity and cleverness. But it is not necessary for me to devote much time to the description of the interior of a Montessori school and the work that is done in it. This has already been done admirably in Mrs. Fisher's book, and in Professor Culverwell's "Montessori Principles and Practice," published by the publishers of this volume. We are interested here rather in the principles that govern the Montessori school, and the actual possibilities of success in the future, than in the details of the method itself. Whenever I study Madame Montessori's work, I am always struck by the extreme simplicity of her ideas, a simplicity at once so obvious and so natural that one cannot help wondering why no one has

ever discovered such an eminently natural system before. But the greatest inventions are always those which seem the most obvious. As Madame Montessori says, the greatest minds are those to which not even the slightest phenomenon of Nature is ever unimportant.

So far as her teaching apparatus, the didactic material, as it is usually called, is concerned, she has made use of one fundamental principle, that it is necessary to work through the senses to the intellect. None of the senses should be neglected. So her material is intended primarily for the cultivation of the senses, and the motor activities which are expressed by them. She does not make the almost universal mistake of considering that there only are two senses for all practical purposes, hearing and seeing. So, for example, she tries to develop the sense of touch in several different directions, first the distinctions between rough and smooth, and then the various sub-senses, thermic, baric and stereognostic, or the recognition of objects by feeling, etc. She is particularly careful to develop all the senses to their fullest extent, because it is only during childhood that this can be done. Moreover, she says, "Aesthetic and moral education are closely related to this sensory education. Multiply the sensations, and develop the capacity of appreciating fine differences in stimuli, and

we refine the sensibility and multiply man's pleasures."

Now let us see how Madame Montessori applies her principles to the teaching of such a necessary subject as writing: "At this point, we present the cards bearing the vowels painted in red. The child sees irregular figures painted red. We give him vowels in wood, painted red, and have him superimpose these upon letters painted on the card. We have him touch the wooden vowels in the fashion of writing and give him the name of each letter. The vowels are arranged on the cards according to analogy of form—

o	e	a
i		u

We then say to the child, *e.g.*, 'Find "o" Put it in its place.' Then 'What letter is this?' We here discover that many children make mistakes in the letters if they only look at the letter.

"They could, however, tell the letter by touching it. Most interesting observations may be made, revealing various individual types, visual, motor.

"We have the child touch the letters drawn upon the cards, using the index finger only, then the index with the middle finger, then with

a small stick held as a pen. The letter must be traced in the fashion of writing.

"The consonants are painted in blue, and are arranged upon cards according to analogy of form. To these cards are annexed a movable alphabet in blue wood, the letters of which are to be placed upon the consonants. . . . In addition to these materials, there is another series of cards where, besides the consonants, are painted one or two figures, the names of which begin with that particular letter. Near the script letter is a smaller printed letter painted in the same colour.

"The teacher naming the consonant according to the phonetic method, indicates the letter, and then the card, pronouncing the name of the objects painted thereon, emphasising the first letter, as for example, 'p-pear: give me the consonant p, put it in its place, touch it,' etc. In all this we study the linguistic defects of the child.

"Tracing the letter in the fashion of writing begins the muscular education which prepares for writing. One of our little girls taught by this method has reproduced all the letters with the pen, though she does not as yet recognise them all."¹

I cannot, in the space at my disposal, go so far as I should wish into the methods and the

¹ "The Montessori Method," p. 268.

consequent successes of the Dottorressa Montessori. I can only say that she does have successes so startling that they would turn the old-fashioned teacher, with her pothooks and strokes, her copy-books and her dictation, green with envy. There are, I believe, several teachers who have read Madame Montessori's book, tried the same material and failed. Such people as these are the bitterest opponents of the Montessori school. They are quite unwilling to admit that the reason for their failure was not the principle of the method, or the insufficiency of the material, but their own interference and their own folly. Madame Montessori leaves the child to teach himself and this is contrary to all the traditions of our elaborately trained teachers, hence their lack of success. I should like to make it quite clear that in a Montessori school, the children are not, or perhaps I should say, would not be allowed to do exactly what they like. Anything which would cause actual harm to the child, or inconvenience and injury to his fellows, is not exactly forbidden, but it is disallowed. There is an important distinction. On the other hand, the Dottorressa has devised a complete system of didactic material, so carefully arranged according to the mental and physical capacity of the children, that they find sufficient beneficial occupation to prevent their having time to feel any

desire for what is harmful or forbidden. This plan is successful precisely because she allows for the constant play of those activities which become harmful only when they are diverted from the right direction, and turned, although the child himself is unconscious of the fact, into what is dangerous and wrong.

Madame Montessori does not insist upon obedience, because she knows that a small child is too young to appreciate the benefits and the duty of obedience.¹ The capacity to do so will come in later years, and as yet the Dottorressa has not elaborated her theory for older children. She is the last person in the world to rush headlong into extremes. Her own training as a scientist forms a sufficient safeguard against any such folly. I think, as I have said elsewhere, that she will advocate the inculcation of what may be called the social virtues, by means of a system of self-government. Respect for those in authority is a much more valuable thing when it comes directly from a realisation of their worth, rather than from a dread of punishment, no matter what form the punishment may take.

The fallacy that the child is a miniature adult has given rise to a host of misconceptions, among which we may take that which serves as a base for the argument that because we no

¹ See Chapter viii.

longer live like savages, in a state of nature, it is useless to allow our children to live as nearly as possible in a state of nature. But the child longs for nature in a way, and to an extent which we adults are very often far from comprehending. The country child is able to gratify this natural impulse more readily than his brother in the town, but the impulse exists in both. It is closely allied with the play impulse. There have been many theories invented to account for the impulse which the normal child invariably possesses for play. We know that children do play, but we seldom bother to wonder why. We really do not know very much about the matter, but biologists and anthropologists between them have evolved what is called the culture epoch theory. I will state it here, though it is impossible to enter upon the grounds which are brought forward to support it. Those who hold it say that there are more or less clearly defined epochs or stages of growth which occur in the physical, mental and moral development of the child; that this development progresses from that which is oldest in the race to that which is newest, for example, from the control of the trunk to that of the arms and legs, and afterwards to the hands and fingers; from fundamental operations of the mind such as perception and memory to the more complex operations

of association and reasoning ; from cleanliness of person and obedience to altruistic motives and devotion.¹ In other words, there are more or less fixed periods in the life of the individual when particular instincts make their appearance. If they find opportunity for development, they will develop ; but if not, they will disappear. When they have once disappeared, they never return. This is the case not only with human beings but with animals. It is said that a duck which does not learn to swim when it is young will never enter the water of its own accord afterwards, and will only flounder about if it is thrown in. Play is very often the attempt at self-expression of some of these instincts. What we call play is work in the mind of the child : what we look upon with amusement and a certain amount of contempt, he regards with all possible seriousness. He may or may not be conscious of the fact ; that depends entirely upon his bodily age, for at the beginning of life all play is more or less sub-conscious, but as he grows older, his play will become more and more purposive, and he will regard it and himself with more and more seriousness. The very same influences which are the causes of the delight in work felt by an adult, appear also in the delight in play felt by a child. It is the business of the

¹ See " Education by Plays and Games " (Johnston).

school to foster and help on this spirit of play activity by every means in its power, for by so doing the habit of work will be ingrained at the same time, and once gained the habit will never be lost. It is the bringing of interest to the work that makes it interesting to the child, the supplying of an element which the child can appreciate and understand. There is not the slightest doubt that work done without interest might just as well not be done at all, for the moment that the power which compels its execution is removed, the effect of the work on the child's mind will disappear also. It is for this reason that the children who leave our schools, both elementary and secondary, take such a short time to forget all they have learnt. They learn as a task, as a galley slave uses his oar, and with as much interest. Consequently, the results which might have been made lasting, are transitory and vain. The school of the future will teach the child to work by providing him with opportunities for play, not mere games, but constructive play, such as that which the Boy Scouts find so absorbing and of such indirect benefit to themselves. At present there is no such provision for smaller children, and yet it is equally needed. We need play experts as well as teaching experts, and beyond doubt they will be found in the schools of the future.

When are we to begin the more formal training of childhood ? Only when we have laid a thorough foundation by developing the elementary and simple processes which act as a basis for the more complex and purely mental process which formal teaching requires. This can only be done by degrees, and no special age or period can be fixed upon. Everything depends upon the individual child. It is in this direction, in considering the individual child rather than the class, that the teacher of the future will differ so essentially from his predecessor in the schools of to-day. He will be as much a student as a teacher throughout his career, a student not of books; not of sciences, but of children. His experience will grow hour by hour, and his value as a teacher will increase according to the advantage he takes from that experience. Under the present *régime* the teacher, like everybody else, tends to become more and more a kind of machine. Just in the same way that the British workman has become the slave of his machine, so the teacher has become the slave of routine. Everything goes to point to the fact that in the school of the future, with its increased freedom for the child and for the teacher, he will lose altogether the pedagogic aspect which always makes one feel ill at ease in the presence of a schoolmaster.

In dealing with the education of the small

child, we are at a loss simply because we have no experience of the right kind to guide us. We realise that the present condition of affairs is all wrong, but we hardly know where to turn to put matters right. We have gained a great amount of theoretical knowledge which enables us to see that the line we have been following for many years is quite wrong, even if the results obtained by the schools had not been sufficient to satisfy us of the fact, but until Madame Montessori, whose training as a scientist, a physician and a teacher, supplied her with the necessary basis upon which her common sense enabled her to build and put into practice a reasonable theory, no one has attempted to break entirely new ground in education. We are at the beginning of things. We do not know how far the new theories will lead us. They are so revolutionary that they cannot be grasped all at once: they are so audacious that even those teachers who have the best intentions are afraid to venture into the new field. Yet it is with the education of the small child, of the baby, that the education of the future must inevitably begin. We cannot begin to build a house by putting up a roof, and we cannot begin to reform education by making a start with the universities, the secondary schools, or even the elementary schools. The infant schools, whatever form

they may take in the future, must constitute the starting-point, so that once more we are forced back to the necessity of following Nature in beginning with that which is simple before attempting anything complex.

CHAPTER V

EDUCATION AND THE ADOLESCENT

OUR systems of education have all failed in the past because they have in no way considered and allowed for life. They have been dead and rotten themselves, and have made for death and rottenness in all that has resulted from them. There is no science, no art, no craft that has really a greater relation to, and dependence upon life than education. It cannot indeed create life of any kind, but it must, by following the natural life of the body, develop the natural activities of both body and mind.

The life of a child may be roughly divided into three stages, infancy, pre-adolescence—the period from about seven to about twelve—and adolescence—from about twelve to sixteen or seventeen. It is impossible to fix these periods any more closely because they vary considerably according to the sex and other physiological circumstances of the individual. Each of these periods serves its own special purpose. Childhood or infancy is the period of motor-sensory development, during

which the child ceases to depend entirely upon others, having learnt to recognise and to make use of his own powers of mind and body. During pre-adolescence this growth and capacity for self-realisation continues, and it is this period perhaps in which processes are most readily and firmly grasped by mind and body alike. We have a good example of this in the fact that this is the period at which a foreign language may be most easily acquired. The senses of the child are always on the alert. They have now a capacity for adapting themselves to new mental processes that will never again be equalled. They are in a sense already developed and conscious of their development, but they are not yet fully formed, and they seem to be looking about for something else to get hold of, before they lose their wonderful quality of elasticity. By this time the child has gained a capacity for distinguishing what is abstract from what is concrete, and although the change from the fundamental to the accessory must be made gradually, this is the period at which it should be begun.

The period of adolescence is a time of mental and bodily disturbance which must be afforded the most careful treatment, for it is said that at no time in the child's life is there more danger of injury to mind and body.

All these things have to be taken into consideration when we are dealing with schools, teaching, and the arrangement of curricula. The child's nature is the main consideration, then comes the necessity of fitting the child to take his place in the work of life. Hence, the feature which will chiefly distinguish the schools of the future from the schools of the present will be a much greater amount of elasticity, in order that the different characteristics of different children may receive that consideration which is their due. Certain new elements will undoubtedly be introduced into the curriculum, such as the subjects of vocational instruction, but as I have devoted a special chapter to that subject I need not refer to it here. Instead of the method, almost universal at present, of treating certain subjects of the curriculum as though the first pages of the text-book were as suitable for the lowest classes as the last pages are for the highest, as for example in the teaching of Latin, where a child has to wade through the declensions, which nobody could accuse of having the slightest intrinsic interest, before he gets to anything which really does interest him, these subjects will be taught by the natural method which enlists the child's interest as its chief ally. Instead of teaching Latin by a text-book, when we know quite well that the best way of learning a language is by

actual oral practice in that language, we shall adopt some such conversational method as that employed at the Perse School, Cambridge, which has been in use for many years at some of the wonderful monastic schools on the Continent.

We have failed in the past to take into any account those instincts and impulses in the child which might constitute the most useful helps to education we could possibly obtain. They have always been there, waiting to be made use of, but they have always been relentlessly ignored. This is because we have preferred to consider education as discipline and not as development. There are many teachers who follow the disciplinary method from mere force of habit, sometimes from a disinclination to depart from tradition, but very often they have not the least comprehension of the actual disciplinary theory. The extraordinary idea that the mere act of learning is good in itself has been disproved over and over again. The acquisition of a faculty for learning by heart long lists of words does not make a child any the more capable of learning a piece of recitation easily and quickly, still less with any intelligence. The more the mind is stored with an accumulation of information acquired by the mechanical means of learning by heart, the less is the person capable

of remembering the everyday matters that need remembering, and the less capable of observation does he seem. Professor Adams¹ satirizes the principle of formal training in the following amusing passage :

“What could call into play more of a boy’s faculties than orchard-robbing ? Almost all the virtues are trained in the exercise of this vice. The necessary planning demands prudence, forethought, caution. The choosing of the right moment implies careful observation, judicious estimate of character and intelligent calculation of probabilities. The actual expedition demands the greatest courage, firmness and self-control. Climbing the tree and seizing the fruit are only possible as the result of the most accurate adjustment of means to end. All the results aimed at in the most liberal education are here secured ; no teacher is required, and the boy enjoys it. Why does not apple stealing rank with Latin and mathematics as a mental gymnastic ? ”

Before we can do anything with education, we must get rid of the fragments that still remain of this formal training theory. The difficulty is, not that we have to combat the serious opposition of experienced and scientific men, but that the whole mass of teachers, a

¹ “ Herbartian Psychology,” p. III.

dead lump of inertia, the result of faulty training, of fallacious principles, of an antiquated system, is against us. Teachers will not move with the times, and apparently no amount of argument will convince them of their error. Not only that, but they evidently lack that sense of balance which would enable them to examine and to judge the alternatives that are presented to them.

It is impossible to have too wide a curriculum, if it is fitted to the requirements of life, and arranged to suit the needs of the individual. The activities of life are so complex that no curriculum can possibly include them all. Whatever education and civilisation we possess at present has not been acquired by means of schools, for schools, as far as the vast majority of mankind have been concerned with them, are a comparatively recent institution. Civilisation is the result of experience and not of schooling, and we must realise that our education, if it is to be useful, must make use of experience in exactly the same way. This means that those subjects which are taught at present will be maintained, for reading, writing and arithmetic, the three R's which are such a fetish to the lovers of utilitarianism, if not essential to existence in these days, are undoubtedly very necessary. Not the subjects, but the method in which

they are taught, will be changed. The mere possession of these accomplishments is quite useless in itself. There is no doubt that there are a great many people at the present day who would be very much better off if they could not read or write, for they do not know what to read, and they are quite incapable of selecting subjects for their reading, or of distinguishing between what is good and what is bad. The school of the future will make all the subjects of its curriculum only the means to an end, and the end will never be attained, for life is too short and so long as we live we should never cease to learn. Therefore the school of the future will be a school where children will learn how to learn, how to utilise the experience of the past and the present, and how to provide for the future by the exercise of the faculty of judgment.

The child in the infant school will teach himself the mechanical part of reading. When he comes into the primary school he will be shown not how, but why and what to read. He will be placed in touch with a literature such as we do not possess at present, which will correspond almost exactly with the stage of development to which he has attained, and which will supply him with examples and ideals that his mind is capable of understanding. I cannot repeat too often the assertion that we shall treat children as

intelligent beings and not as machines. As it is, we try to force upon them books which we in our wisdom think will be improving. We select a book, and we set a child to master the intricacies of its language in order that we may provide him with a ready made vocabulary, then, after making sure that the child can read it aloud intelligibly, we begin to try and help him to read it intelligently. This is our universal system, and we call it explaining the meaning. But it is putting the cart before the horse, and in the result about equally productive of success. We forget that the child is supposed to be reading for his own benefit and not for ours.

It is just the same with the teaching of arithmetic. We place all our faith in a kind of mechanical proficiency, in the working of sums accurately according to a set form. Mr. Holmes says,¹ "The boys in a large 'Standard II.', who had been spending the whole year in adding, subtracting, multiplying and dividing tens of thousands, were given the following sum: A farmer had 126 sheep, he bought nine. How many had he then? Out of fifty boys, one only worked the sum correctly. Of the remaining 49, about a third *multiplied* 126 by 9, another third *divided* 126 by 9, while the remaining third subtracted 9 from 126." When I read this I was

¹ "What is and What might be," p. 122, note.

rather surprised that they did not attempt to *subtract* 126 from 9.

So again with writing. Obviously the main object of writing is self-expression in some form or other. Instead of beginning by using it as such, we waste time in transcription lessons, in dictation, copy-books, and so forth. There is no need for any of these artificial processes. As soon as the child has learnt the mechanical part of writing, no matter how imperfectly, he should make use of the process he has just acquired as a means of expressing his ideas. How very few people there are who can write a good letter. In the schools of the future these absurdities will be put right. School activities will be based upon the activities of life and the needs of the child himself. This means a great change: no less than the provision of a new didactic material all the way through the school, for the text-book, the cram-book and the aid to memory will give place to books specially written to appeal to that interest in the affairs of life which a child always possesses hidden away somewhere. Great strides have undoubtedly been made in this direction during the last few years, but much still remains to be done.

What is the purpose of liberal or cultural education? It is simply that part of education which aims at the cultivation of right processes

of thought rather than at preparation for wage earning, pure and simple, at the widening of outlook rather than specialisation. In the future it will act as a balance against the mere utilitarianism of vocational training. Not that vocational training does not in itself possess some of the elements which go to make up a liberal education, but its object is rather to provide the breadwinner than the intellectual man. We must have both forms of education if we are to prevent one-sidedness.

In our secondary schools we have, to a certain extent, allowed the child a limited choice in the matter of what he is to learn. There are modern sides and classical sides, and some schools divide their modern side into scientific and commercial sections. In this way the boy has some opportunity of choosing those subjects which appeal to him most. In reality, however, this choice is more often made by the parent than the child, and there is always the necessity of passing an examination qualifying for something to be considered. One must pass an examination for nearly every occupation. The very nature of an examination pre-supposes a hard and fast curriculum in the schools. We have done away with the system of examination in the elementary schools, because it was discovered to be impracticable, and sooner or later it will dis-

appear also from our secondary schools. Everyone recognises the fact that an examination is a very incomplete test of knowledge. In some cases it may be a test ; in others it is hardly a test at all. I know several teachers, whom circumstances have prevented from entering a training college, who have tried over and over again to pass the certificate examination and failed each time. Their stock of knowledge is by no means inferior to that of thousands of fully-qualified teachers, while their skill and ability as teachers is infinitely superior. Yet because they are unable to pass this examination, they must rest content with lower status, a lower salary, and without the possibility of ever obtaining a headship. In exactly the same way, the possession of an honours degree is by no means a certificate that the holder is capable of making a good master in a secondary school. We hear many complaints too,, of the failure of the examination system in the Civil Service to secure the best and most useful men for the purposes of the State. Yet, although examinations have been proved so useless, we persist in retaining them as the means of entry into all the professions. So far as the fixed sciences are concerned, there is some justification for the examination system, and there is also a great deal in the way in which the examination is

conducted. But even under the best conditions, there must always be some who cannot do themselves justice in an examination room, and these people should not be kept out of their work in life simply because they cannot pass an examination which has no very close relation to that work. Ultimately, no doubt, some practical alternative will be devised. I imagine that the examination itself will be made more practical, and supplemented by an actual test, followed by a period of probation, so that those who fail at the outset may have an opportunity afforded them of showing that although they do not possess what may be called the examination faculty, they are none the less quite as capable as those who do possess it. In the case of teachers there is less difficulty than with other professions, for in the case of a teacher in actual employment it is always possible to tell whether he is worthy of recognition and promotion or not. At the present day, thousands of excellent, capable and clever teachers are condemned to what must be almost a state of despair simply because they cannot pass the required examination, and there is no alternative. Not only in a great number of cases must their own health suffer, but also the quality of the work done in school whilst they are preparing over and over again for the same examination. Surely the

inspector and the head-teacher, with perhaps a representative of the local education authority, could decide in such cases whether the case called for special treatment at the hands of the Board of Education.

The greatest objection to examinations is, however, not that they do not constitute a sure test of knowledge and capability, but that they reduce the work done in schools to one dead level. The teacher must bear them in mind above every other consideration when he is drawing up his time-table and his curriculum. Instead of having different examinations for different classes of boys, every one must take the same examination. The Oxford and Cambridge Locals, and other examinations of the same kind, serve only too often to bolster up a most vicious system whereby the school and its masters are glorified at the lasting expense of the unfortunate boys and girls. Long lists of successes are published and inscribed upon honours boards, as though they proved anything more than the acquisition of the examination faculty, or the school's success as an institution for cramming. Those who take the best places in such examinations are often the most useless creatures in the schools. They are the victims of the system.

The only sane way of arranging a curriculum

is by the careful observation of the child's abilities, his activities and inclinations during the years of pre-adolescence, when all instruction is more or less general. These should be fostered and cultivated, and the child should be allowed to devote himself as far as possible to them. There is a limit, of course, to the extent to which we may trust the child's apparent inclinations, but the skilled observer will be able to distinguish between what is real and natural and what is only transitory and apparent. We shall not always be right, but at present we are nearly always wrong. I do not suggest that the child should be called up before the teacher and cross-questioned as to his likes and dislikes. What is done should be done unobtrusively, and probably without any direct word upon the subject passing between the teacher and the child.

So far as principles are concerned, there is very little difference between the secondary school and the elementary. With the elementary school I include all those schools which do elementary work. It is in the elementary school that we begin the process of proceeding from the simple and the general to the complex, but during the last two years of life in the elementary school, the child should be allowed a considerable amount of liberty in the choice of the subjects upon which he prefers to work, while in

these subjects care should be taken that he is able to treat them in their relation to his future work in life. In the secondary school this can be done much more profitably and fully. It is absolutely useless to compel a child to learn geometry or Euclid, if he would prefer to learn German. It is a simple waste of time all round.

With regard to the choice of new subjects and their introduction into the curriculum, we can only return to experience. There are certain activities which have existed so long in the human race that they may almost be called basal. They are activities for which the direct necessity has disappeared with the advance of civilisation, but the instincts which demand expression in their form still remain. If we wish for the full and perfect development of the individual, we must provide him with opportunities for the exercise of these activities. Work with the hands, music and dancing, have a special appeal which we have neglected and even decried so long that the boys and girls of the present generation are ashamed to appear to take any interest in them. But the interest still remains, and when they are by themselves, and lose that awkwardness which they certainly show in the presence of others, we may find children indulging those very proclivities of which they are ashamed, because we have made them ashamed.

The dramatic instinct is another of these basal interests. To those who consider such matters trivial, I can only say: how is it that these interests and activities have existed from the very earliest times, and continue to exist when other occupations of every kind have dropped out? The impulse in the child, and often in the man, is as strong to-day as ever it was, and to inhibit it is one of the most dangerous things we can do. As examples of what may be done in different directions, but with the same idea of making use of these basal instincts, I may mention the work of the Perse School at Cambridge, Pangbourne School, and Miss Finlay-Johnson's school at Sompting, which Mr. Holmes describes in "What is and What might be," and of which Miss Johnson herself gives a more detailed description in "The Dramatic Method of Teaching."

The school of the future, whether elementary or secondary, will realise that its function is indeed very wide. Let us take as one of its activities the development of the faculty of reason. What do the schools of the present day attempt in the development of a faculty of purposive thinking? No amount of formal training will enable a boy to solve the problems which life will set before him. This is where the informal training which in itself consists of the solution of problems, will be useful. It is just

such a training as this which the Boy Scout movement provides out of school, though its opportunities are limited. To what an extent of self-reliance and adaptability does it not lead. The school should test intelligence as well as develop it; it should provide opportunities by which the child may learn to reason *for himself*, from cause to effect, and realise by means of the practical examples and opportunities that are afforded him, the uses of inference, analogy and proof. To such an extent does success or non-success in after-life depend upon the power to reason rightly, that it seems extraordinary that nothing has hitherto been done in the schools to provide for it. The doctrine of formal training is once more responsible for the failure. So long as you can believe that a training in Euclid will enable you to face the difficulties of existence, it is obvious that you need not trouble about practical examples.

We cannot pay too much attention to instinct. We have not only to take advantage of the instincts transmitted to us by past generations, but to endeavour to create new ones for the generations that are to follow. There is no faculty more tenacious or more capable of harm if not rightly utilized, than instinct. It is upon instinct that we build up capacity. We must also take into consideration the effects of heredity.

The teachers of the present day are far too ready to believe that they create capacity and intellect. They do nothing of the kind. All that they can do is to develop or assist in the development of inherent qualities, and these qualities differ, and must differ, in each individual. They can stimulate, and make the best of what there is in the child to be stimulated, but they can do no more. There was never a greater fallacy than that all men are born equal. The old proverb, "You cannot make a silk purse out of a sow's ear," is as true in educational matters as in everything else.

Another factor that the teacher of the future will consider far more than his predecessors have ever done, is the inter-relation between mind and body. We are professedly aiming at making mankind as perfect as we can, but we can never do so by fostering one part of his nature at the expense of another. Our schools, by devoting all their attention to the intellectual side and leaving the physical, moral and aesthetic faculties to look after themselves, are unconsciously acting in a truly retrograde fashion. Take, for example, the question of fatigue. It is not always the amount of work he does which makes a child tired. If it were so, there would be some justification for the time-table system, for it could be arranged in such a way that overwork might be

avoided. But there are a host of other factors which have something to do with the matter. First comes an inherited readiness for fatigue, then physical defects, weak eyesight, poor hearing and want of food ; then again there is lack of interest in the subject. I do not know how far the opinion is true, but medical men seem to be agreed that mere change of occupation, or the alternation of organised games with periods of study, is quite useless. They say that what is needed is rest, pure and simple. If this be so, it would seem that the school of the future, instead of having long sessions interrupted by long intervals of play, will have more but shorter sessions during the day and shorter play intervals. This does not mean that organised games will be discouraged, but that they will be an occasional alternative to work, and not intended as a form of recuperation after work. The adolescent of the present day does not suffer from too much physical exercise, but from too little, and this is partly because the physical exercise he does get is not sufficiently varied and spontaneous to be useful. This is especially the case with girls, who need quite as much exercise as boys, but do not usually receive sufficient opportunities.

Still another factor that the educationist of the future will use to the full, is the faculty of

imagination. Children are sometimes extraordinarily imaginative, and this fact is taken advantage of by parents and nurses who wish to terrorise their children into obedience. There can be no possible doubt of the wicked harm done by such behaviour, but imagination has immense educational possibilities. It may be utilised to make such subjects as geography and history intensely interesting, whereas the textbook method only makes them seem dry. The child likes to visualise the actions and the places about which he is told. So it has been found that the dramatic method of teaching such subjects as history and geography, when adopted by capable and experienced teachers, is the most successful of all methods, for it brings the children into what is the next best thing to actual touch with the subjects they are learning. Their imagination enables them to pass through a stage of quasi-experience which is a far more reliable pathway to real knowledge than any amount of mnemonics. So in every possible subject of every possible curriculum, there is room for imagination, and the teacher of the future will know how to utilise it. He will, for example, bring it to bear upon the study of literature, that the child's reading may be filled with life and reality to him. He will picture the scenes and the actors and so be enabled to realise

and vivify all that he reads. The teacher will bring imagination to work upon nature study, science, composition, and even mathematics, to such an extent that even the driest subjects will assume a semblance of life that cannot fail to attract the child and urge him on to greater efforts.

All through the grades of education, from the infant school to the highest classes of the secondary school, the distinguishing feature of the education of the future will be its fulness and nearness to life. The child is naturally strong and full of life. It is only the deadness which we bring to him that knocks this life out of him. Just when he needs it most, when he begins to realise all that life means, and all that it entails, we rob him of all that would nerve him to his task. We turn him into a fatalist of the worst type, instead of rendering him optimistic and courageous. The school of the future will change all this. If it does not give us supermen, it will at least give us men and women conscious of their responsibilities to themselves, their country and their race, and at the same time fitted to undertake the great work of life. It is the greatest duty of every man and woman to set to work to hasten the day on which this ideal shall be achieved. The way lies through the ideal school.

CHAPTER VI

VOCATIONAL TRAINING

EDUCATION that is not vocational is not education at all. Unfortunately, there is a tendency to give this high sounding name to what is merely trade instruction, and to set this up as a kind of fetish, a panacea for all the evils from which our methods of training undoubtedly suffer. Trade instruction is demanded by the employer, because he imagines that it will supply him with cheap skilled labour: it is advocated by trades unions because the workman thinks that more highly skilled labour will mean higher wages. Both sides look at it entirely from their own selfish point of view. They neglect that of the child himself and that of the nation. Certainly we need better workmen, but we need something more than the mechanical skill which would constitute the chief aim of some of these clamourers for trade schools. We are already too much under the dominion of our machines. In days gone by, the man who made a tea-cup made it from beginning to end. Now, one works

the clay, another moulds it, another fires it, another paints the pattern upon it, and another glazes it, so that it passes from hand to hand in such a way that the man who begins it never sees the end of it, except by accident. He has no interest in it whatever : he accepts no responsibility for it. He takes no pride in its beauty ; he has no shame for its ugliness. He is as much a machine as the great dynamo which generates the power for the electric light by which he works. But even he is in a better position than the man who looks after a machine which performs one simple but specialised operation from morning to night. One of the chief problems that are for ever standing before us and demanding a solution is that of finding some method by which such a man-machine may be enabled to retain his soul. We are the victims of a system of specialisation, and instead of becoming less specialised in the future, our industrial processes are always tending to become more so. All that we can do is to try to devise a plan by which the soul-murdering effects of specialisation may be counter-acted. No amount of trade instruction will benefit the mere machine tender. We must remember also that we can do very little in our schools to help those who will be engaged in such staple industries of the country as coal mining, and iron and steel founding. Trade instruction will

be of very little use to such children. The most that we can do will be to give them an interest in their work by dealing with the results of it. But the imagination of the coal hewer will need to be very strongly developed if it is to stand the strain of years in motivating the labour of the coal mine. Imagination will indeed work wonders. For such occupations as these, we may well hope that machine labour will replace human labour. Until that happens, we must rely upon a more rational system of elementary education to encourage other interests, so that the coal hewer, for example, may have something of value to occupy his mind during the hours of solitude in the mine, to make him realise that his work is valuable and necessary, that "scamping" is a moral crime, and so on. This sounds rather feeble and bald, but those who are able to realise the possibilities of the education of the future will understand the difference in outlook, in ideals, in character itself, that will render even such an occupation as coal hewing, year in and year out, a more than bearable task, very different indeed from the forced drudgery which under present conditions it cannot fail to be.

I suppose our elementary schools were founded with the intention of providing a working basis sufficient to give our children a fair start in life. If that is the case, they have lamentably failed.

One of the greatest problems that faces the young man is that of earning his own living, and our schools do nothing to assist in the solution. They turn out children at the age of fourteen, who are unable either to help themselves or to be useful to others. They can read and write and do sums, but these achievements often serve only as aids to the gambling or sporting inclinations of those who possess them. Moreover, a boy who is to become a tailor will not be a better tailor because he knows how to negotiate stocks and shares, and a girl who does not know how to cook a dinner or nurse a baby will not find a profound knowledge of the capes and bays in Alaska of much practical use to her. Yet we go on spending much valuable time and money in the imparting of information of such doubtful value. We turn out the possessors of these valuable accomplishments to swell the enormous crowd of unemployed youth, or else we hand them over to the unprofitable occupations of errand running, paper selling and the like. Statistics are startling enough, but the picture of our streets is more startling still. Meanwhile employers complain that they need skilled labour, that they are willing to pay well for it, and yet they cannot obtain it.

Ascribe the cause to whatever you will, the fact remains that the British workman of to-day

is a man of very different calibre from his predecessor of a hundred or even fifty years ago. The inventors of the machines which brought commercial prosperity to this country were invariably working men. Such were James Arkwright, George Stephenson, and many others. It is not so to-day. The one quality which stands out pre-eminently in the British workman is his utter lack of initiative and resource. He learns not a trade but a part of a trade, and he can do nothing else. If he loses his situation, he sits down and does nothing until another post of the same nature comes along. Generally his wife must go out to work in order to keep him. This state of affairs means a great deal of unnecessary or at least preventable unemployment. Here is the opportunity for the industrial or trade school. As usual, we have already tried the experiment in the case of the blind, the deaf and the dumb, the mentally defective as well as the physically defective; now is the time to render a measure of capacity for self-support to the able bodied. We must learn a lesson from Germany. The city of Munich provides the best example of what may be done by a town which realises its responsibilities towards its youth. "Since 1900 the city of Munich has been gradually transforming its continuation schools . . . into elementary technical schools for

apprentices in the trades and in business. The city now maintains 38 different kinds of these schools, as follows. In 1900 were opened schools for butchers, bakers, shoemakers, chimney-sweeps and barbers; in 1901 for wood-turners, glaziers, gardeners, confectioners, wagon-makers, and blacksmiths, tailors, photographers, interior decorators, painters' materials; in 1902, for hotel and restaurant waiters, coachmen, painters and paperhangers, bookbinders, potters and stove setters, watchmakers, clockmakers and jewellers, goldsmiths and silversmiths; in 1903 for foundrymen, pewterers, coppersmiths, tin-smiths, plumbers—stucco workers and marble cutters, wood carvers, *schaffler*, saddlers and leather workers, and in 1905 for business apprentices, printers and type-setters, lithographers and engravers, building iron and ornamental iron workers, machine-makers, mechanics, cabinet-makers, masons and stone cutters, carpenters." There does not seem to be much left out. These schools are very different from the stock pattern continuation school that exists in this country, and which frequently only perpetuates the worst traditions of the elementary school. Moreover, the young people who attend them are not compelled to do so at the end of an exacting day's work. Many of them are day schools, and employers are obliged to give their young people

sufficient leave of absence to enable them to attend without injury to their physical health. The time allowed in this way averages from six to ten hours a week.¹

According to the Circular of Information, No. 2, published by the Bureau of Education at Washington, nearly every small village in Germany has its industrial school. The writer says that the schools are a striking reflex of the industrial conditions. They are established gradually and in a masterly way to meet the wants of great masses of people. They put as much strength into the building of the average man,—the average workman, as in building up higher education. The very reverse is the case with us. Wurtemberg, a poor hilly country with very poor facilities for transportation, has two hundred and fifty industrial schools in its towns and villages, one knitting school, three weaving schools, two industrial workshops for actual practice in weaving, two technical schools for textile and mechanical work, a large State university, a technical university, a royal building-trades school, a great commercial college, several commercial improvement schools, many farming schools . . . an art trade school for industrial art, a pure art school, and many miscellaneous schools for workmen of different grades, evening

¹ I will return to these Munich schools a little later.

schools, continuation schools, including schools for domestic economy for women. Every one is compelled to attend school until he is fourteen years of age, and after that time obliged to spend a certain portion of his time at one of the continuation schools. The schools are managed by practical committees consisting of employers, business men and workmen. Every one takes the utmost pride in the schools. So long ago as 1899 there were fourteen general industrial schools for girls in Saxony.

Coming still nearer home, the great industrial schools for boys and girls in Paris are models of thoroughness and efficiency. They are always full, and there is the greatest anxiety on the part of the children in the elementary schools to obtain one of the scholarships which provide for the three years course usually given. I have visited several of these schools at Paris, and in each of them I was told by the principal that the demand for the pupils is so great that before the course ends there are invariably requests from employers for many more children than the school can possibly supply. Here again the schools are managed by a *comité de patronage*, which frequently contains some of the old pupils of the school, who take the greatest interest in the work of the school. The work done in the morning is theoretical and cultural rather than

practical, but it has always some bearing upon the practical work which is done in the afternoons. In the *école professionnelle pour jeunes filles* in the Rue Championnet, I heard a lesson given, quite informally, to a large class of girls about fourteen or fifteen years of age, upon the distinguishing features of Norman architecture. I wondered in what way such a lesson could be of any practical use until I was shown afterwards how each girl had a kind of portfolio in which she kept notes and sketches of different designs from each of the periods of architectural art, which she used as bases for further designs and patterns of her own invention, and later for embroidery or some other practical purpose. The intense thoroughness which characterises the work done in all the schools, the meticulous care taken over the smallest details, the keenness with which the children themselves work are signs that augur well for the future. In the Ecole Boulle, the boys make their own machines, and the teachers are in many cases old boys themselves with the keenest interest in the success of the school. There is a really businesslike atmosphere about these schools, for the pupils execute orders for work coming from outside ; they know the cost of the raw materials, and the price which their work will bring.

In this country we are a terribly long way

behind in the provision of opportunities such as those afforded by the schools to which I have referred. This is what an American expert has to say about us.¹ "One result of the neglect of commercial education in England is the inability of English commercial travellers and agents properly to represent the trade interests of their country. As a rule these vital interests are in the hands of foreigners who have received special commercial training in some of the many excellent commercial schools on the Continent. It would be difficult to estimate how many young Germans are managing the correspondence in large English business houses. The advent of Germany upon the scene as one of her keenest competitors has caused some anxiety in England, and the cause which has brought about the result is now generally and correctly conceded to be the superior technical and commercial training accorded to the German youth."

This was written ten years ago. What has been done since to put things right? As a nation we pin our faith to the vain hope that we shall "muddle through" in this respect, as we have succeeded in "muddling through" in so many other ways. We lose sight of the moral effect of this policy of *laissez faire*, and we blind

¹ "Report of the Commissioner for Education" (U.S.A.), 1903, p. 654.

ourselves to what must be the inevitable result. And yet it is an extraordinary fact that we spend more upon education than any of the countries which are passing us by. The total population of Germany is half as large again as ours, and yet with our absolute lack of all vocational training compared with the wonderful provision that has been made in Germany, we spend more money upon education than she does.

The case is this : we have lost sight of the fact that industrial needs and conditions are continually altering. In order that education may mean life, our schools must move with the times. There is a certain basis in education which remains ever the same, which is always necessary, but that part of education which is directly connected with the struggle for existence, and which is surely no less necessary than the acquisition of a knowledge of reading, writing and arithmetic, is continually in need of adaptation to new requirements. This is where we have failed. We deal with our children in exactly the same way to-day that we should have done fifty years ago. Then the system of apprenticeship was in full swing. A boy left school and was immediately apprenticed to some one who taught him a trade. There was no need for him to learn the elements of a trade at school. This is no longer the case. The apprenticeship system has fallen into disuse,

and there seems very little probability that it will ever return. To some extent this fact is due to the advent of machinery. We should have met the problem as it presented itself, gradually, but we have not done so, and the result is that we are now faced with a very serious difficulty. In order that it may be fully understood, we must proceed to a careful analysis of the various aspects and activities of education itself.

Education has four distinct but inter-related ends, all of which must receive their due share of attention. These ends are both cultural and vocational. The cultural part of education concerns itself with

(a) The social duties and activities of man and with the amenities of life.

(b) The development of his intellectual and aesthetic faculties, not so much for what he may get out of them, but for the advantage of the world in general, and the individual in particular, that he may be able to employ his leisure as well as his working hours.¹ The vocational aim of education is

(c) the development of a capacity to accomplish his work in life, to provide for himself and those who will be dependent upon him ;

(d) to ensure health both of mind and body.

It is obvious that from the utilitarian point of view, the latter are the more important, but it would be a sorry world if every one in it were

¹See Chapter vii.

concerned solely with the earning of his own living. One of our chief problems arises from the fact that in the past the two types of education have been entrusted to different authorities, and that instead of being considered mutually necessary and inter-dependent, they have been treated, and are still being treated, as though they were entirely antagonistic. Hence a kind of *impasse*. The methods of the two systems are often diametrically opposed, and the upholders of the two schools go on with their unending quarrel as though education consisted of the parts rather than the whole. The liberal schoolmaster treats vocational training as though it were beneath contempt, and the vocational schoolmaster sneers at the Latin and Greek of the liberal school. So they try to destroy one another, consciously and deliberately, heedless of the fact that there is a place for both. Up to the present the anti-vocationists seem to have had the best of the struggle.

There are those, too, who urge that such matters as the provision of vocational training should be left to private enterprise, and that they are the concern of the individual rather than the State. It is extraordinary indeed to hear such arguments in these days, when the State has been providing a form of liberal education and making it compulsory for the last forty years. Appar-

ently it does not matter so long as the State chooses to waste money, but it must not spend it usefully. What is the result of this lack of any vocational element in our compulsory system of education? Simply that the working class, which after all constitutes the backbone of the country, receives no practical training, while all the professions insist upon such a training before they will admit members. The medical man must gain his experience in a hospital before he is allowed to practise, a soldier must attend a military college, a naval officer a practical course of training at Osborne. The very people who need such a training most, and who form by far the largest section of the community, receive nothing. The position against vocational training is surely hardly worth arguing. In the next few pages, I shall try to develop a reasonable plan by which in the schools of the future, true vocational training may be assured as far as possible to all.

The elementary school will begin the work by providing a rational system of general manual instruction for boys and domestic training for girls. There exists, to a limited extent, a system of manual training at the present day, but the air of unreality which hangs about it, and the conditions under which the work is done, prevent it from being really vocational. Moreover, it is

divorced from the elementary school itself, and conducted at special centres, generally for the greater part of one half-day a week. The mere ability to use the tools of a carpenter does not constitute manual training of the elementary vocational type. Every child is not going to become a carpenter. Something should be made, something the boy can feel some interest in, and know something about, and the manual work should be co-related with other school work, with drawing and with arithmetic : almost every subject in the curriculum of the elementary school could be made to contribute something to this end. It has always seemed to me that our manual centres partake rather too deeply of the nature of a treadmill. The work done in them is usually trivial in itself, and the finished products have no particular value to anyone. Rolling pins and wooden soap boxes are not sufficient to hold the interest of a boy. He wants to make something that he can use himself. and in this he is only obeying an inherited instinct. There are certain fundamental processes which lie at the base of all the crafts, and which have existed since the very beginning of social life. Why not make use of these? A potter's wheel and a hand loom, together with a carpenter's bench with a few tools, could be installed in the smallest of schools. The work

done with them might not be very valuable, but it would at least be definite. This simple apparatus would be more effective than the most expensive manual centre. We cannot teach a trade to a boy of twelve with the idea of turning out a skilled workman at the age of fourteen, and it would be a great pity if we could ; but the training he would receive by learning to make a few simple objects by means of the apparatus I have mentioned, would go far towards helping him in that direction.

We may divide the youth of the country roughly into six classes, according to the pursuits in which they will afterwards be engaged :

- (1) Industrial.
- (2) Agricultural.
- (3) Commercial.
- (4) Professional.
- (5) Marine Occupations.
- (6) Domestic.

Women very often come under two of these headings, the last and one other. We shall therefore need vocational schools corresponding to each of these headings, and for some of them different types or grades of schools. At the present time, only the professional class finds its wants fully supplied. So far as the elementary stages of vocational training are concerned, some form of instruction should be compulsory. Ger-

many has found it possible to establish such a system, and after a few preliminary difficulties, it has been found to work well. The selfishness of parents and the shortsightedness of employers are the two chief obstacles in the way. But both these difficulties had to be faced when elementary education was made obligatory, and there is no reason why they should not be faced and overcome again. Dr. David Snedden¹ suggests that in each class of school the subject should be approached from three aspects :

- (1) Concrete, specific and practical.
- (2) Technical.
- (3) General vocational.

He goes on to suggest how this idea might be elaborated. Thus, for example, in schools of

HORTICULTURE

(1) Working with soil and plants, and the problems of marketing.

(2) Phases of botany, physics, chemistry, entomology, bacteriology, meteorology, economics, etc., so far as they relate to the above.

(3) History of horticulture, practice of that craft, evolution of plant life, etc.

MACHINERY

(1) Lathe, forge, drill, press and other tools.

(2) Drawing, shop mathematics, principles of mechanics.

(3) History and evolution of modern industry, industrial co-operation, etc.

¹ " Problem of Vocational Education," 1910.

COMMERCIAL SCHOOLS

(1) Book-keeping, typewriting, business practice and salesmanship.

(2) Derived from the above, also German, higher mathematics, commercial law, etc.

(3) History of commerce, geography, evolution of exchange, transport, etc.

DOMESTIC SCHOOLS.

(1) Needlework, cooking, cleaning, nursing, etc.

(2) Phases of chemistry, physics, economics, architecture, physics, exchange, sex, etc.

(3) Eugenics, works of charity and philanthropy, protective legislation, etc.

It is only for the first of these modes of treatment that special apparatus will be required. It will readily be seen how this method of dealing with the subjects does away with that possibility of acquiring a mere mechanical proficiency which is just the greatest danger of vocational instruction. But no amount of vocational training which is not based upon practice will serve our purpose. Throughout education we are apt to lose sight of the fundamental principle which insists upon our proceeding from the concrete to the abstract. Nowhere is this more necessary than in vocational training. We do not give our soldiers a long course of theoretical training in a school, and then send them out upon the field of battle without ever placing a gun in their hands.

When we come to consider ways and means,

we find ourselves confronted by a long series of problems of every description. Before I deal with them, it will be as well to re-state the purpose of the vocational school. Primarily, it is intended to give every man a fair chance of making the best of himself, of providing him, at least, with an opportunity. By thus providing for the individual, we confer an incalculable benefit upon the State, which is composed of individuals. At the same time it will infuse a new spirit into industry by providing intelligent workmen in the place of unintelligent men-machines of somewhat doubtful efficiency. It will provide an adaptable, capable type of man, with a mind trained to act upon its own initiative, with a knowledge of elementary processes and a special knowledge of the theory and practice of his own trade. Vocational training will do for the workman as a workman, what the new liberal education will do for him as a human being. In this sense the word workman applies to everyone who has to work for his living, whether in commercial or industrial pursuits.

The ideal vocational school would go farther than this. It would aim at the renaissance of that spirit which animated and characterised the workers of the middle ages. Conditions, it is true, have changed completely. Our work

and our ideals can equally be described as shoddy. But why should not both be changed again? One of the master craftsmen of the middle ages would be regarded with admiring astonishment if he could be re-incarnated at the present day and set up his shop in Bond Street. But he would be considered as a monstrosity; he would be admired, but not imitated, and his work would be sought after by American millionaires, and locked up in burglar proof safes instead of being used. We have lost the spirit that made such men, and also the spirit which appreciated them. Instead of looking upon manual work as an occupation of value, honour and dignity in itself, we regard it purely and simply as a means of making money, and if money can be made more easily by producing cheap bad work, we are quite satisfied. Little by little the standard of work goes down, and the status of the workman goes down with it. The vocational school must change this wretched state of affairs. The school alone cannot do so, but it can help greatly. The working man of the present day has no ideals; he is content to do what he is told at the expense of as little time, care and energy as possible, in order that he may draw his pay on Friday night or Saturday morning. He wants the pay, but he does not care about the work. Very often his employer is actuated by exactly the same motive.

He does not care about the work, but he wants all the money he can get for it. So, if present conditions continue, we shall go on from very bad to infinitely worse. If it be necessary for the welfare of the nation that each man in it should be prepared to take his share in the work of national defence, it is at least equally necessary that he should be able to aid in the work of building up the greatness and strength of the country, which depend, not on wealth, not on armies, but upon the character and the lives of its men and women, upon the nature of the work that is done in it, and the spirit with which that work is done. Only the vocational school can supply a due appreciation of the value, ethical, physical, intellectual and moral, of work, whether it be industrial, commercial or anything else.

Let us turn now to the discussion of the difficulties that present themselves. The industrial or trade schools provide the most serious problems. We cannot build and fit up a school for every trade, for in some industries, specialisation has prevailed to such an extent, that what was formerly a trade in itself has now become subdivided into dozens or even hundreds of small trades. Bootmaking is a fair example. It will, therefore, be necessary to group the allied trades and provide one school for the group, beginning with a training in those processes

which are common to all, giving a certain amount of general instruction in the trade as a whole, and finally leading up to that point at which the final specialisation may safely be left to the trade itself. In this way we should have woodworking schools, iron-working schools, textile schools, and so on. We may here return for a little while to the schools of Munich. The chief industries of Munich are brewing, instrument making and printing, with their allied trades. "The population numbers 570,000, and there are 77,000 working people above 16 years, engaged in various occupations, as well as over 9,000 employés in business. The elementary schools have 67,000 children of 6 to 14 years, and about 15,000 (6,000 boys, 9,000 girls) are in the continuation schools. Attendance at the latter is compulsory for boys from 14 to 18, and for girls from 13 to 16 years. . . . There are completely separate courses for druggists, saddlers, coopers, metal workers, watchmakers, lithographers, jewellers, to name only a few, each with its expert craftsman to teach the practice and theory, while the composition, arithmetic, book-keeping and drawing are taught also by special teachers for the purpose of the special trade."¹ The schools were founded about ten

¹ Board of Education, Educ. Pamph. 18, "Compulsory Continuation Schools in Germany," 1910.

years ago when unemployment and unskilled labour were rife. Since 1907 all boys have been obliged to remain at the elementary school for an eighth year, mainly devoted to manual work. This was done because it was found that nearly a fifth of the boys in the continuation schools were either quite unemployed, or engaged in unskilled employment. This was the case a few years ago, but in 1909, out of 2,200 boys who left the highest class, 2,150 went direct into some form of skilled employment. Afterwards they are obliged to attend at the continuation classes in their own particular trade, and their employers are compelled to allow them the necessary time. Two or three attendances are made in the week. Thus at the Liebherrstrasse School, woodcarvers attend on Wednesday afternoon from 3 to 7, and on Friday from 2 to 7. For watchmakers there are classes on Sunday from 8 to 11 and on Tuesday from 8 to 11 and from 1 to 7.

On October 15th, 1907, 257 classes were held for forty different groups of trades, and the attendances on that day totalled 5,783 .

Such a complete system of schools naturally means considerable expense. It is calculated that the average cost of a continuation school pupil is from £4 5s. to £4 10s., not including the cost of the building. The following

is a statement of accounts for the year 1907-8.¹

<i>Receipts.</i>				Marks.
Government of Upper Bavaria	...			397,900
State of Bavaria	...	...	...	14,000
School Fees, etc.	...	...	...	28,240
				<hr/>
From other sources	...	...	...	440,140
				16,541
				<hr/>
Balance met by Munich	...	...	...	456,681
				449,415
				<hr/>

Expenditure. Marks.

A.—COMPULSORY.

Trade Schools for apprentices—

(a) Salaries	...	...	...	...	367,920
(b) Heating, lighting and cleaning					111,000
(c) Books, apparatus, etc.	...	...	...	...	38,300
Miscellaneous	3,920
Buildings	92,180

613,320

B.—VOLUNTARY.

For adult workmen	293,095
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906,415

approx. £45,320

As an example of what a city can do in the provision of vocational instruction, Munich undoubtedly stands far ahead of the rest of the

¹ For all these statistics I am indebted to Board of Education Pamphlet No. 18.

world. But we must not lose sight of certain facts. When the compulsory system was begun, the habit of attending some form of continuation school was already ingrained in the people. This is not the case with us. Moreover, the apprentice system is still in full vigour at Munich, and the employer is consequently more inclined to realise his responsibility towards his employés than is the case with us. Then the trade guilds, which are a much finer thing than trades unions, because they interest themselves, not only in the status of their members, but in the quality of the work they do, still represent the interests of the workmen. Finally, Munich is a city, and as such concerned only with the needs of her own population. With us a national system is needed, with due regard to the needs of particular localities.

As an example of what a State may do, we may turn our attention to Wurtemberg. This is a country with a population of about two million people. It is a small country, not much larger than Yorkshire, and it possesses several disadvantages owing to its geographical position. There are 1905 communes or parishes, only 37 of which have a population of more than 5,000, and nine-tenths of the whole have a population of less than 2,000. It is therefore a country of small villages. According to the law that came

into force in April, 1909, every commune in which for three successive years there have been 40 male workmen under eighteen years of age engaged in commercial or industrial pursuits, must provide and maintain an industrial or commercial school, sometimes both. Attendance at these schools is compulsory for three years, sometimes for four, and employers are obliged to grant the necessary time required for attendance. The State recognises the cruelty of compelling young people to attend classes at the end of a long day's work ; hence the last provision.

Here we have the example of a tiny State making provision for vocational training even in its smallest villages. In our own country, there is no power to compel the largest towns to do anything in the matter. And they will not. The average working man and the average employer are so disgusted with the results of elementary education that they are very shy indeed of imposing upon themselves any further sacrifices for the cause of education. It is difficult to blame them. There seems little doubt that it will be necessary to make compulsory both the provision of these schools and attendance thereat in this country. So long as a voluntary system can be founded and maintained, there is no doubt that it is preferable, but it has been open to us for years to make in our large towns

such provision as Munich has made, but we have done nothing. Moreover, our very circumstances render compulsion more inevitable. We have to protect the child against both his parents and his would-be employer in order to prevent his being forced into unprofitable and improper employment such as paper selling, "van mind-ing" and other similar unproductive occupations, of which there seem to be legion. The child makes a few paltry shillings which, no doubt, are very welcome in many families where the strain of existence is great, and the employer obtains a cheap form of labour, with which he can dispense whenever he pleases. It is the child and the nation who suffer. We have become so used to this state of affairs that nothing but compulsion will drag us out of it. We must provide for the weak as well as for the strong.

Why should we not adopt a system providing for compulsion only when it proves to be necessary in the case of recalcitrant local authorities? This brings us to the question of the administration of vocational schools. We may pre-suppose that the State passes a law such as that adopted by Wurtemberg. Our present system of schools is in the hands of the County Councils so far as country districts are concerned, and of Borough and Urban District Councils in other cases. Putting the voluntary schools out of the question,

these authorities build the schools and maintain them with the aid of a grant from the State. The Board of Education looks after the qualifications of the teachers, insists upon the suitability of the school buildings, and exercises the right of inspection before the payment of grant. The Board lays down a set of conditions and regulations called the Code, and to these the Local Authorities are bound to submit. The system works very well, in spite of the grumbles of Local Authorities who would be content, on the score of cheapness, with a lower standard than that required by the Board, and of teachers with whom grumbling is a matter of principle. An adaptation of the same system might therefore be adopted in the case of vocational schools. Wherever a certain number of young people are engaged in commerce or industry, the State should insist upon the foundation of a commercial or industrial school, or as many such schools as may seem necessary. These schools might be built and maintained by a Local Authority in exactly the same way as the elementary schools, but under the direction of a special committee composed of employers, business men and workmen, with a knowledge of the requirements of the district. The State might make a grant towards the initial expenditure, which would be comparatively heavy, and continue to make annual grants

so long as the school remained thoroughly efficient. In the case of the trade schools the highest authority might well consist of a special committee formed from the staffs of the Board of Education and the Board of Trade, with an advisory committee of co-opted persons chosen from the ranks of those capable of representing the chief industrial interests—employers, workers and vocational teachers.

This brings us to one of the most real of all the difficulties connected with the beginning of a vocational school system. When some time has elapsed the difficulty will disappear, but at the outset it will be very difficult to secure a staff of competent teachers. There are workmen enough, but they cannot teach, and there are teachers enough, but naturally they know nothing about the industrial processes which it would be their business to teach. To begin with, it will probably be necessary to have a double staff, of good workmen for the technical processes, and of good teachers for the theoretical part of the instruction. But it will be necessary to take care that the teachers of theory have fully grasped the purpose and the spirit of the vocational school, and that they work in perfect harmony and understanding with those responsible for the purely practical side of the instruction. Later on a system of

student teachers would be evolved, or it might be possible for specially selected workmen to go through a course of training in teaching. In any case the difficulty is not insuperable. Inspection might well be left to the Local Authorities, for they must have the best knowledge as to the extent to which the school is providing for local requirements. In cases of difficulty or dispute, the Joint Board of Vocational Instruction would retain the right of decision.

In cases where the Local Authority or some other source provided the schools voluntarily, special privileges would naturally be allowed, but there should be some guarantee of efficiency.

I will now outline a scheme which seems as though it would allow for the combination of both the compulsory and the voluntary elements that I have suggested. We may begin by dividing the system into its main classes :

1. Trade Schools for boys.
2. Trade Schools for girls.
3. Commercial Schools for boys and girls.
4. Agricultural Schools.
5. Professional Schools.
6. Marine Occupation Training Schools.
7. Schools of Housewifery and kindred subjects for girls.

Each district should be required to maintain

schools for its principal industries, and to establish a central school where classes could be held for the less important industries. In districts where the total number of children to receive instruction is comparatively small, one building would suffice. Only local conditions can decide the extent to which allied industries require separate treatment. In the case of the trade schools, each building would contain a workshop or as many workshops as circumstances might require, together with class-rooms for theoretical work. The pupil would attend for a definite number of hours a week; on two or three separate occasions according to the trade. Some portion of each session should be devoted to theoretical work.¹

As working people in this country already have a weekly half holiday besides the whole of Sunday, there does not seem to be the same necessity for having all the classes in the day time as in other countries, where there is no such weekly half holiday. One session a week might be held in the day time, and the other two in the evening. On such occasions the employer should be obliged to allow his young employés to

¹ At the beginning it might be necessary to take the theoretical work for the whole of one session, in order that one class might be doing such work while another was engaged upon practical work. This would seem to be necessary so long as a double teaching staff was required.

leave work at an earlier hour. If employers preferred to give their own trade instruction they should be allowed and encouraged to do so, on condition that a fair time was devoted to theoretical work, and that the workshop school complied with the requirements laid down by the Government department for Vocational Instruction. This system is carried out to some extent in Belgium. There would be two main classes of schools—schools organised at the works, and workshops organised at the school. The latter class may be again divided into (*a*) schools working only for private industry, in other words, those organised by employers in order to secure a supply of skilled workmen for their own business, and (*b*) those not working directly for private industry, and again (*c*) those working partly for private industry, and partly for the benefit of the school. Each system has its own advantages and disadvantages. Let us take one class at a time, and compare them.

A.—WORKSHOP SCHOOLS ORGANISED BY EMPLOYERS FOR THEIR OWN BENEFIT

Advantages

(1) In these schools the apprentices begin to earn a wage as soon as they are capable of doing useful work.

(2) The work is practical; it is done under ordinary industrial conditions, and it constitutes a rational preparation for industrial life.

(3) There is a minimum of expense connected with such schools, for the material used is paid for by the consumer.

Disadvantages

(1) These schools are not adaptable to certain trades such as plumbing, hairdressing, etc.

(2) They often give rise to criticism, on the ground that the State by helping them with a subsidy, gives an unfair advantage to large firms able to provide a workshop-school for their employés.

(3) The expenditure for upkeep is comparatively high, as the pupils have not time to make their own tools.

B.—WORKSHOP-SCHOOLS ORGANISED BY THE DISTRICT OR TOWN, NOT WORKING FOR PRIVATE ADVANTAGE

Advantages

(1) There is more opportunity for a wide and well-graduated course than in a private school, where very often there is not sufficient variety in the nature of the orders to allow of an all-round training.

(2) The system may be used for all trades.

(3) As the pupils make their own tools, the expenditure is low.

Disadvantages

(1) There is no payment of salary, and consequently not the stimulation which comes from working for a wage.

(2) As materials must be bought, and the receipts for sales are slight, expenses are correspondingly heavy.

C.—WORKSHOP-SCHOOLS WORKING IN PART FOR PRIVATE INDUSTRY AND PARTLY FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE SCHOOL

These schools enjoy the advantages of both systems, and in them the disadvantages are reduced to a minimum.

I have adapted this statement of the disadvantages and advantages of the different systems from a report published in 1912 by the Belgian Ministry of Labour.¹

In Belgium, all these schools are subsidised by the State to the same extent. They receive 40 per cent. of the ordinary expenditure for upkeep, salaries of teachers, etc., and 50 per cent. of the extraordinary expenditure for such items as tools, furniture, etc.

There is the alternative system in which instead of a workshop fitted up on school premises, the school is organised at the works of some private employer of labour. In this case the pupil works at his trade in the ordinary way, and all that the employer does is to provide him with instruction in his own workshops, and with a certain amount of theoretical instruction in special classes held on the premises. It is probable that for certain trades this might prove a good system, especially in cases where the number of young people engaged in a particular trade is not sufficiently large to warrant the local authority in expending the amount of money necessary for a special school. In fact, each of these types of school has its own special advantages in certain circumstances. In Bel-

¹ "Rapport Général sur la situation de l'enseignement technique en Belgique," 1902-1910, 2 vols.

gium, in the case of schools organised at the works of some employer, the State allows 40 per cent. of the ordinary expenditure only, while the employer finds all the materials, the tools and the furniture. The Report to which I have referred, sums up the advantages and disadvantages of this last system as follows:

Advantages—

- (1) The teaching is essentially practical and allows of wage paying.
- (2) It is simple and requires no complex organisation.
- (3) The expense is slight.

Disadvantages—

- (1) The system is distinctly to the advantage of the large employer who can afford to establish a school within his works.
- (2) As soon as orders become few, the work done by the boys is not sufficiently varied in character to ensure a thorough training.
- (3) The system is not adaptable to all trades.

It is the duty of the State to see that equal opportunities are provided for all its citizens, but so long as employers are willing to provide vocational instruction for their young people, there is no need for the State to interfere, beyond making sure that the instruction is really beneficial and thorough. In cases where employers are prepared to found and maintain schools of this kind, they should, as in Belgium, be assisted by the State, and also relieved from the payment

of any special rate levied to meet the expenses of vocational training in their particular district. What is needed is not the setting up and glorification of any particular system, but the provision, by some means or other, of vocational instruction for those who are in need of it. It is probable that most employers of labour would choose this way of arranging for the vocational instruction of their employés, for only in this way is it possible for the exigencies of a particular business to be considered in such matters as attendance, and so forth. Moreover, it is the nearest approach to the principle of apprenticeship that is likely to be adopted, and if properly worked—and it will be the duty of the State to see that it is properly worked—a sense of the mutual interests of the employer and the employed, and the rights and responsibilities of both, would be more readily fostered by this, than by any other system. The chief danger to be guarded against appears to lie in the difficulty of providing a sufficiently wide training in the case of highly specialised industries, but this might be avoided by an arrangement between the employer's school-workshop, and that provided as a central school by the district. An association of vocational school managers would prove exceedingly useful in smoothing over difficulties of this kind.

In the case of girls, there is an additional

difficulty. Most girls marry after a short period in trade. Their chief business in life is that of motherhood. If therefore we make attendance at vocational schools compulsory for girls leaving the elementary schools, it should be with the object of fitting them for their chief work in life no less than for the secondary occupation of earning a living. But we must not lose sight of the fact that many women do not marry, while others continue to work at a trade after their marriage. It is not an ideal state of affairs, but we must take it into consideration. Training in domestic matters is perhaps more necessary than any other form of vocational training, either for boys or girls, and whatever else be taught, this subject must take the first place. But the difficulty is counterbalanced to a certain extent by the fact that training in domestic subjects does not require any special building or apparatus, and there would not be the same difficulty with regard to the organisation of efficient small classes in different parts of the town, as in the case of other subjects. Moreover, a great deal can be done in the last years of life in the elementary school, so that such a long course would not be needed, and this might well be deferred until the last year of compulsory attendance at the trade school.

Commercial schools would generally be organ-

ised by the town, but, here again, a firm employing a large number of clerks might prefer to come to some arrangement with the local authority, by which its employés might spend half their time at the central commercial school, and the rest at the premises of the firm, doing practical work, and learning how to deal with any special requirements of their employers.

In the same way, an agricultural school might be founded by a group of farmers in conjunction with the local authority, some arrangement being made by which the practical work could be done on each of the farms in turn. Of all the classes of vocational schools, except those of housewifery, none is more needed at the present day than the agricultural school. There is no need to insist upon the fact, for it is obvious to every observer of the country-side. It is greatly to the advantage of the nation that it should have a great and intelligent rural population. A scientific knowledge of the principles of agriculture, by enabling farmers to make better use of their land, would do much to arrest that rush to the towns which has depopulated so many of our villages, and is the cause of so much needless unemployment and poverty.

Schools of fishery and marine occupations do not call for any special remark.

All these classes of schools would call for

institutions of a higher nature, which would be to them what the university is to the secondary school at present. These schools would go more deeply into all the subjects of the vocational school, and would aim at providing foremen, overseers of all kinds, and chief clerks, with a deeper and more specialised knowledge than that which is required by the ordinary workman. Germany possesses many such schools, some of which far surpass anything of the kind in England. Such institutions would serve at the same time as schools for employers—a very necessary institution, and it would be well if every employer were compelled to spend a certain amount of time in one. Such higher vocational schools might have a special side devoted to the training of teachers in vocational schools. This would be a much wiser plan than the foundation of special training colleges for such teachers, for they would remain in touch with their industry during the whole of their period of training, which in itself would be a very great advantage.

Another type of school that will need to be established is a combination of the secondary school and the purely vocational school. There are many boys and girls whose parents would be prepared to allow them to spend two additional years at school if they could be assured that the children were qualifying themselves for the wage-

earning business of life at the same time. This presents no special difficulty, for it should be possible for the classes at the secondary school to be so arranged that pupils could go, in the same way as those who had already entered employment, to three sessions or more during the week at the vocational school. By going during the day, they would help to fill up the time that might otherwise be wasted for want of employées during the day sessions. The secondary school itself would endeavour to assimilate its curriculum to the practical requirements of the district, but not slavishly, for it should be the object of the secondary school to continue and develop the liberal education which it will be the duty of the elementary school to provide. The elementary school is at the root of the whole matter. Unless our elementary schools are completely reformed, and provided with new ideals, the most perfect system of vocational schools will fail to achieve its end. Without a firm foundation, no magnificent superstructure will be of any practical use. Hence, all through this chapter on Vocational Training, I have assumed this reformation of the elementary school.

With regard to the disposal of the articles manufactured in the vocational schools, it must be remembered that the total output will not be very great, and that therefore there will not be

that competition with regular producers that some opponents of such instruction are pleased to profess. In Berne, the manufactured products are handed over to the trades unions, and sold by them at the ordinary trade rates. Any profit that is made goes for the upkeep of the school. In the case of schools founded by employers, there is no difficulty of this kind.

Apart altogether from the establishment of vocational schools, the State may do much to help the child to find his vocation. At the present day, children very often tumble into their life's work in the most haphazard fashion. They adopt a certain form of employment, because their fathers are engaged in it, or because their favourite companions advise them to do so. We have already an arrangement by which, in some places, the labour exchange is linked to the school system, but more than this is needed. If, as I have suggested elsewhere, each child is carefully watched, and his general characteristics noted, the record will prove most useful at the end of his school career, in suggesting the form of employment which is best suited to the nature and abilities of the child. Dr. Stanley Hall suggests the foundation of what he calls vocational bureaux, to find out, encourage and help vocations. These institutions might well be connected with the labour exchanges

now in existence. They would have a special staff for dealing with adolescent labour. The vocational adviser would need special training and considerable tact. He would take into consideration in deciding upon the fitness of those who came to him for advice, such factors as the following : inherited tendencies to disease, size, good looks, manner, dress, habits, reading, experience, disposition, resources, residential and family ties, voice, accuracy of the senses and memory, sympathy, power of association, etc. Other qualities which should be taken into consideration are ambition, adaptability, rapidity of thought and action, power to work with others, regularity, cordiality, self-reliance, tolerance, foresight, temper, poise, trustfulness and ability to persuade. It seems probable that an institution of this kind, worked sympathetically under the direction of a really capable man, would prove extremely useful, and by preventing misfits in commercial and industrial life, would abolish a great deal of that unhappiness which comes from the belated discovery that one has engaged upon an occupation very little fitted to one's nature, temperament and abilities. Experience shows that it is much better to make a good beginning than to try to alter things later on. It is during the period of adolescence that such matters as these must be decided.

When dealing with this question of vocational training, and all the bypaths that surround it, it is difficult to avoid insisting upon the necessity for making a move at once. Year after year goes by, and the State still leaves the youth of the nation helpless, and lays the foundations for its own downfall. It actually delivers our young boys and girls over to all the evils of unemployment. Our elementary schools do nothing to prepare for the work of life. They turn out young people without initiative, throw them upon the world, and then leave them to their fate. What happens to them afterwards? According to Mr. A. Greenwood, half the applications that come before the Distress committees, are from men who started life as errand or van boys. Fifteen per cent. of the men in distress are under twenty-five years of age, and one-third of the whole under thirty. Of these a very large proportion are quite unemployable. Could there be a more serious indictment of the existing state of affairs than this? The State must act, and act quickly. It must recast its system of elementary education; it must step in to prevent the exploitation of young children, by passing a law to prevent the employment of children under a certain age, and during certain hours. Germany did this years ago. It must insist upon the provision of vocational schools, and compel

attendance thereat, or its equivalent. It must assist those who are incapable of helping themselves, to find their true vocation. Our schools, under the present *régime*, are a disgrace to the nation, but it is to the schools of the future that we must look for its salvation.

CHAPTER VII

EDUCATION OUT OF SCHOOL

At the present day, perhaps the greater proportion of the valuable experience or education which children receive, is acquired almost accidentally. It is not so much what we teach as what the child picks up which is useful. We fasten definitely upon one branch of his activities, and attempt to develop that, without paying the least attention to other activities which are by no means less important. We make no effort to utilise and to control the emotional faculties ; we allow the moral life to sink to a very low ebb through mere inanition ; we do very little indeed to strengthen the motor sensory activities which are so essential in the struggle for existence, and we entirely ignore the aesthetic side of life and the cultivation of any sense of taste. There is not very much left. Unless there is something very seriously wrong with the home of a child, he much prefers to remain there than to go to school. Consequently, in his mind, home and

school represent the principles of liberty and compulsion, of activity and stagnation, of life and a kind of death. Who does not remember the childish habit of tying knots in one's handkerchief to represent the number of days left before the end of term, and the delight with which one undid them, night by night, and realised that the holidays were drawing nearer? This is a very unnatural and unnecessary state of affairs. We do not consciously wish our children to consider their life at school as a kind of purgatory; they are not undergoing a period of purgation, a process of elimination, but a process of development, and development is life, which should be pleasurable instead of painful.

The recasting of our ideas with regard to discipline will do away with the penal colony type of school, but there will still remain the need for a greater inter-relation between school and home, between the parent and the teacher. The parent is, after all, the natural teacher, and it is only owing to the exigencies of modern life that he has lost this position. The school has endeavoured to take over some of his responsibilities, but it has only partially succeeded. Education has come to mean simply that portion of education which is acquired between the four walls of a school, between the hours of nine and twelve in the morning, and two and four in the afternoon. But

after all, this is really only a very small portion of education, and even if, during those hours, our schools did a little more towards fitting the children in them for their work in life by providing some form of vocational training, they would still provide for only a corner of life. Few men really work more than eight hours a day, whatever their station. How do our schools help to provide for the rest of the twenty-four hours? Not the slightest attempt has been made to teach people how to amuse themselves. If education is a preparation for life, then our schools should take their part in preparing for all the activities of life, not merely those that are exercised during working hours only. People do not know how to amuse themselves.

Let us take an object lesson. I do not wish to libel the working man, but in how many cases is the picture I am about to draw not a true one? He comes home from his work at mid-day on Saturday. He washes, eats his dinner and goes off to a football match, if it is the football season. The amount of real sporting interest that he takes in the game is often exceedingly slight. He shrieks in unison with his fellows every time the referee gives a decision of which he does not approve, which means whenever it is against the team upon which he has put his money. The match over, he goes to the public-house.

Afterwards, everything depends upon his age. If he is young and not yet quite *blasé*, he will probably go home for tea, and thence to a cinematograph show, or a music-hall. People talk very largely about the educational influence of the cinematograph, but no idea of education enters the head of our young man. He goes purely and simply to be amused, not to amuse himself. There lies the fault. He *cannot* amuse himself. He does not know how to set about the business. He must be amused, and he is terribly unhappy if anything interferes to prevent his being amused. The older man becomes tired of this puerile mode of behaviour. He also goes to the football match; he also upbraids the referee when occasion offers, but afterwards he does not go beyond the public-house. He stays and soaks until eleven o'clock, and then goes home as best he can. On Sundays, he stays in bed until the public-houses open; if he is unusually respectable, he may go out for a walk with his wife or his sweetheart in the afternoon. The evening will usually find the older man once more in the public-house, the younger man by the side of a secluded road with his "girl," the boy, also with a girl, parading some favourite street, walking up and down it, backwards and forwards, jostling every one he meets, shouting vulgar banalities, indecencies, obscenities, not perhaps particularly

evil in themselves, but indescribably vulgar, until a late hour of the night. He is bad mannered, badly dressed, but not badly intentioned. He may become that later.

We do not find things relatively much better as we rise higher in the strata of society. In one of the schools in which I gained my own experience, the only form of amusement which appealed to a number of the teachers was to proceed to the nearest public-house immediately school was over for the day, there to take beer and sandwiches as necessary refreshment, and then to proceed by public-house stages, from one end of the town to the other, until closing time found them more or less capable of returning to their homes. I am told that mine was an unusually unfortunate experience. I can only hope that it was.

How do the women of the lower classes take their amusements? They get very few, beyond the street corner chat, but how maddeningly unintelligent they are! Can we say that the upper classes are relatively so much better? Thanks to the saving grace of school games, they are not confined to the watching of football matches, but beyond sport, what is there? We are told by foreigners that English people take their pleasures sadly. Surely it is small wonder! Mr. Arnold Bennett has remarked upon the

aspect of the average Englishman. He says¹ : "The net result of the interplay of instincts and influences which determine the existence of a community is shown in the general expression on the faces of the people. This is an index which cannot lie and cannot be gainsaid. It is fairly easy and extremely interesting to decipher. It is so open, shameless and universal, that not to look at it is impossible. Perhaps the public may be surprised to hear that the general expression on the faces of Londoners of all ranks varies from the sad to the morose ; and that their general mien is one of haste and gloomy pre-occupation. Such a staring fact is paramount in sociological evidence. And the observer of it would be justified in summoning Heaven, the legislature, the county council, the churches and the ruling classes, and saying to them : "Glance at these faces, and don't boast too much about what you have accomplished. The climate and the industrial system have so far triumphed over you all."

I do not altogether agree with Mr. Arnold Bennett, and I am sure that he has left out a very important factor in the case. I do not agree with him with regard to the fundamental principle underlying the expression. It is vacuity. And he has said nothing at all about the schools. He

¹ *English Review*, April, 1913, p. 25.

speaks of the effects of environment, of the climate and the industrial system, but these it is the duty of the school to counteract. Instead of attempting to do so, our wretched schools make matters infinitely worse. I do not suggest that the working classes should not attend football matches, but I do suggest that they should also play, and that they should have an opportunity of acquiring what may be called the true sporting instinct. I do not suggest that young boys and girls should attend lessons on political economy or the evils of drink, but I do think they might be rendered capable of finding pleasure in more intellectual pursuits than the cinematograph show, the music hall and the Sunday evening promenade. The cinematograph and the music-hall are all very well in their place, but they are everything, life itself, to the youth of the present generation. I do not suggest that the older man should never visit a public-house, but that is a very different thing from encouraging him to spend his whole time there, from sheer want of capacity to take pleasure in other and more beneficial occupations. There are wide fields open both in Nature and in art, but they are *terra incognita* to millions of working men, and to hundreds of thousands of others. There are games which at present exist principally as an adjunct to the gambling instinct.

Those who do play them, play to win and only to win. They cannot afford to lose, and so they cannot bear to lose.

What can the school do? Many things. Instead of lecturing about the dignity of manual labour, while taking every practical step to underrate it, manual work should be encouraged, and made interesting. Instead of treating such subjects as reading merely as a means to the mechanical end of reading aloud, they should be vivified and made the stepping-stones to an interest in, and a study of, literature. Instead of treating nature study as an abstract and rather unnecessary item in an overcrowded curriculum, it should be treated as we treat our hobbies, and children should be taught, not as if it were essential that they should know what happens to a bean when it is grown in water, or to write an illustrated essay upon the development of a tadpole, but in order that they may take a real and abiding interest in all the wonderful highways and byways of Nature. We keep insisting upon dealing with these subjects in our schools, as if, when we had finished the school course, whether elementary or advanced, we had taught everything there was to be known about the subject, instead of laying foundations for an independent study of the subject in after years. Children leave school without knowing the possibilities of

amusements of this kind. They have gathered merely the dry bones of the subject, and know nothing of the interest that may be obtained by its continuance. These things need not be taken in the precious moments governed by an inexorable time-table, but a capable teacher need never be the slave of his time-tables or his schemes of work. If he is to do any useful work he cannot be, for he must attend to the requirements of each individual child, and individual children differ considerably.

Then there is the dramatic art, and the art of dancing, both shamefully neglected in the schools of the present day, and both with enormous possibilities, both physical and mental. There are music and painting and sculpture; there are domestic arts and crafts, such as weaving, pottery, etc. I might go on making suggestions, but I think I have done enough, and I can already hear the voice of the teacher declaiming in the indignant columns of *The Schoolmaster* against the new-fangled idiocies of "this extraordinary crank, who advocates the inclusion in the curriculum of an elementary school such subjects as dancing, the making of pots and the inculcation of a fine spirit of criticism in music. Is Mr. Egerton unaware of the regulations of the Board of Education . . . etc., etc . . . and of the good work already being done . . . etc.,

etc. ? ” This kind of thing has been said before, of far more important educational reformers than I aspire to be—in fact, it has been said of every one in turn. The one educational reform that appeals to teachers, as a whole, and the only one, is that of increased salaries for themselves. It is unfortunate that teachers have such a small sense of proportion. I am dealing with ideals, capable, indeed, of realisation, but by degrees, not all at once, and then only with an open mind. The amount that can be done depends upon the reasonableness and common sense of each individual teacher. Even in schools constituted as they are at present, something could be done at once. But, each step forward must be made carefully and with due deliberation. When Mr. Holmes drew attention to the work that was being done by Miss Harriet Finlay-Johnson, his Egeria, and when the lady herself wrote a book describing her methods, many enthusiastic but unwise teachers set to work to teach history by the dramatic method. In many cases the result was too ludicrous for words, but the failure was due, not to any inherent absurdity in the principle, but to their incomplete grasp of it. Unfortunately, the reactionary type of teacher is on the look-out for failures, not for successes, and he makes the most of them. The titanic groanings of *The Schoolmaster* are an evidence of this spirit.

There will, in the future, be a very great change in the manner in which the school is regarded, both by child and teacher. It will be looked upon, not as an institution for merely formal, or even vocational instruction, but as the centre of the child community. Here he will learn not only that he is an individual—his natural instincts and capacities will tell him that—but that he is a member of a society, and has certain duties and responsibilities toward that society. A certain time will, of necessity, be set apart for preparation for the serious business of life, for the acquisition of that knowledge which is essential for success in work, but that will not be all. The school will not open at nine and close at five; it will open at seven and remain open until night. Apart from the staff of teachers whose duty it will be to look after the more formal education of the children, there will be another staff of competent consultors and advisers upon informal subjects, including those to which I have already referred, or some of them. It is probable that a great deal of this work would gladly be done voluntarily. Here the children would come for advice, instruction and direction in any of the subjects to which they might feel attracted. Here, too, would be provision for games of every kind, for gymnastic exercises and for dancing. Hence would start

rambles and expeditions of every kind: here would be the centre of a scouting fraternity, a library and a simple workshop. The children would be free to come when they liked and to go when they pleased. That they would come, and the benefits that would accrue to them has been abundantly proved by the few experiments that private enterprise has already made in this direction. Regular organisation will make for better results. The expense—for we have always to face the question of expense—would be extraordinarily slight. The apparatus needed could generally, and would certainly be gladly made by the children themselves. The results of such a work have to be seen to be believed. I shall make no apology for giving a long quotation from an American book¹ upon the subject of school playgrounds. It is a letter to the author from the head-master of a large school in an American city.

“ In September, 1901, I took charge of the Elm Street School. This school consisted of about five hundred and fifty children in grades above the third. It was the most centrally located in the city, and the district extended for more than a mile along the river bank, embracing the larger portion of the main street, and the business section of the city. The entire Italian colony and about half of the Hebrew population were included within the boundaries of the district.

¹ “ Education by Plays and Games ” (Johnston).

" In such a district many homes are merely sleeping places for the active, healthy children. The small yards, the congested and unattractive tenements, and the alluring attractions of the theatres and streets, caused the children, especially the boys, at an early age to spend the greater part of their working hours in work or play or mere idling away from home, uncontrolled among the city's turmoil and temptations. Cigarette-smoking, the theatre-going habit, petty stealing from fruit stands and stores, lawlessness and truancy are some of the outward manifestations of the street-developed character.

" In this district the school building was a four-storey structure located in the centre of a lot containing about two-thirds of an acre. On each side of the building was a play yard with a strip of lawn in front. On the first floor of the building the lowest panes of glass in the windows were painted white to prevent the children from looking out on the streets. It is said that prisoners were formerly marched along the street to the police court, and that the distractions thus caused seemed to justify the coating of the windows. However true this may be, the appearance of a police van in the vicinity, or the ringing of the city fire alarm was sufficient at any time to empty the yard. Such a school naturally presented problems in discipline and truancy. For the year ending June, 1901, there were recorded against it ninety-nine cases of corporal punishment and two hundred and eighty-one half days of truancy, the school in these respects having the worst reputation in the vicinity. . . . The boys' playground was covered with loam which made it unfit for use in damp weather. In such a yard, without equipment of any kind, and with such a large number of boys, a principal quite naturally and easily fell into the rôle of policeman, prohibiting games and suppressing activity. Such a policy, though probably employed by most of our principals to-day, drives children into the street, and is one of the chief causes of truancy.

" Four or five weeks after the opening of school, we set about improving our yard, the city covered it with a mix-

ture of broken stones and sand. A wooden frame containing four pairs of rings and two horizontal bars was erected. The rings were of iron and were fastened to the frame by rope. The bars were each about six feet in length and were made of two inch iron pipe. Eight boys could exercise at one time on this apparatus, and it soon developed that rapid and vigorous exercise was necessary in order to enable the waiting line of boys to participate in the pleasure. From time to time other pieces of apparatus were added until, in about a year, we had in the boys' yard the following in addition to the frame above, two punching bags, a twelve pound shot, apparatus for high jumping and pole vaulting, game of skittles or outdoor bowling, and an oval race track one-thirtieth of a mile in length. As the yard was too small to allow unrestricted ball-throwing, bases were painted on the brick pavement at one end of the playground, and the boys were interested in the pitcher's art. Care was taken in the selection and placing of apparatus that the yard might continue to be available for free play. The large frame and track were permanent features of the yard, the others were removed when not in use. Some of the apparatus was made by the boys. The city did not provide or pay for any of it. . . . All the pieces of the outdoor gymnasium were placed entirely at the disposal of the boys, and although I was told by those who had been connected with the school a dozen or more years that every movable piece would disappear, not even a bolt was stolen or lost during the entire four years. The yard became very popular. Boys were often using the gymnasium an hour before school in the morning; there were hasty lunches and constant activity at noon and an hour after the closing of the afternoon session generally found the apparatus still in use. . . . I have seen as many as two hundred boys, as if with one impulse, rush out of the side gate during the noon hour to gaze upon a prisoner as he was escorted from the prison van to the courthouse door. However, from the time the first piece of apparatus was put in, I never saw more than two or three

boys at one time sufficiently interested to step outside the yard. . . .

"The outdoor gymnasium and supervised play made the boys happier in their school life. It raised the tone of the school by bringing about a disposition towards teachers and towards school work. It brought the principal in closer touch with the children, and while increasing his knowledge of them, strengthened his influence over them. The teachers took advantage strongly of the enthusiasm and worked for higher ideals. We interpreted corporal punishment strictly and reported accordingly. We did not deem it wise to abolish it entirely, but the number of cases was reduced seventy or eighty per cent. The most noticeable change, however, was in the truancy record. The following speaks for itself.

HALF-DAYS OF TRUANCY RECORDED AGAINST THE SCHOOL

Year ending June, 1901	...	...	...	281
Year ending June, 1902	...	...	...	166
Year ending June, 1903	...	...	...	79
Year ending June, 1904	...	...	...	46
Year ending June, 1905	...	...	...	33

J. L. RILEY, *Principal.*"

This extract requires no explanation and no comment of mine. But I would go a little farther, beyond the school playground and the playground school, to the school community. There are other occupations that appeal to children as strongly as physical exercises. Much real work can be done by utilising the play instinct that is inherent in every child. Children do not care to play for the sake of playing, but

because it is as near as they can get to work in which they are interested.

It would be a simple matter to furnish these school playgrounds with shower baths, to instal a nursery and provide opportunity for domestic work for the girls. There would be little need of restraint, for it is astonishing how soon and how easily these self-governing communities realise themselves and the responsibilities incumbent upon each individual member.

The demand for such a system in secondary schools is equally great. Within the last twenty years, a new class of secondary school has arisen, the large day school where the opportunities for corporate life, which have so long been one of the treasured traditions of our public schools, have not been forthcoming. Boys and girls come long distances by train and return as soon as school is over for the day. The playground activities which are so readily adaptable to the elementary school are impracticable in these large secondary schools, but still much may be done. The opportunity for self-government still remains. Fortunately, there is not the same call for an institution for the purpose of keeping these children off the streets at night, and it will remain for the parents to foster and develop educational interests apart altogether from those required at school. But the school may still

take its part. A certain portion of the day may be set apart for advice and direction upon what we usually call hobbies. Many of my suggestions upon these points apply with as much force to secondary schools as to the elementary schools.

The importance of constructive play should not be lost from sight. There is a fascination about making things which appeals to every child and to most adolescents. There is a satisfaction about completed work which acts as a most powerful impelling influence. Boys should be encouraged to make things, and to do necessary work, not in the spirit of forced labour, but in the spirit of play. I need hardly remind my readers of Tom Sawyer's brilliant device for whitewashing the family fence. Apart from the physical improvement which results, apart from the saving of time that would otherwise be frittered away, there is a real educational influence about manual labour which is good for children of every class and age. Moreover, work that is done by the boys themselves, is valued much more highly than work done by others. Some of our large secondary schools have taken advantage of this constructive instinct, and set their boys to work, levelling playgrounds, laying out playing-fields, making swimming baths. There is hardly any limit to the possibilities in

this direction. If boys were allowed to bind their own books, I am sure much greater care would be taken of them. If they wove the material for their own clothes, if they occasionally cooked their own dinner, mended their own stockings and their own boots, there would be a considerable all-round improvement in the boys themselves, and certainly the lifetime of the articles of apparel would be greatly increased. For the benefit of the teacher, I will again explain that I do not suggest that our schools should be turned into navvies' yards, or into immense kitchens or factories. I do suggest that it would be greatly to the advantage of young people if they learned to be less helpless and more resourceful in the little matters of every-day life.

A theory which meets with a considerable amount of support, is that intellectual development, both in the individual and in the race, is very largely assisted by motor activity. Professor Mosso¹ says: "A fact which cannot be doubted is the many-sidedness of genius which some Italians of the Renaissance possessed, and which has never again appeared with like copiousness. Giotto was painter, sculptor and architect. Leonardo da Vinci was a celebrated musician, a great painter, an engineer, an archi-

¹ "Psychic Processes and Muscular Exercises," in the Clark University Decennial Volume, pp. 387 *seq.*

tect, a man of letters and of science. Andrea del Verrochio was a goldsmith, sculptor, engraver, architect, painter, and musician. An incomparable example, however, is Michelangelo. For twelve years he studied anatomy on the cadaver, and afterwards painted the Sistine chapel and executed the tombs of the Medici and the dome of St. Peter's. . . . I am convinced that muscular movements have formed the omnipotence of genius, just as *vice versa* intellectual exercises affect advantageously the development of the muscles. If the Greeks excelled all other peoples in genius, it was because they paid more attention than did the others to bodily exercise : they brought gymnastics, the study of bodily positions and bodily exercise, to a height which has never been reached by other peoples since their day."

One thing is certain, and that is that we have hitherto paid far too little attention to what are called motor activities. Self-expression is impossible without them. The possession of the greatest genius would be absolutely useless if means of expression failed. Again the normality and regularity of the motor reaction is, perhaps, the surest indication of health or disease, both physical and mental.

Closely connected with this question of motor expression is the question of the emotions.

The effect of unusual grief or of extraordinary joy upon both mind and body is well known. In the school of the future, this interplay of the emotions will be thoroughly realised and made use of.

There remain the aesthetic faculties. The complete lack of all sense of taste, in art, in music, in the little amenities of every-day life, that characterises the great British public as a whole, is appalling. It means a great loss, no less than the closing up of one complete side of human nature. There are very many thousands of people whose comprehension of music never rises above ragtime; whose understanding of art is confined to the hideous coloured oleographs which one finds not merely in the houses of the very poor, but in many middle-class houses; whose appreciation of the art of dancing is confined to the leg-kicking of a cheap provincial music-hall, or the bunny hug and the turkey trot of a public ballroom. These people miss a whole life-time of enjoyment which would do much to make up for the host of troubles and privations that must inevitably fall upon them. There are few qualities more desirable than good taste. It is so far-reaching. It affects life in all kinds of ways. So long as there is a demand for dress, for books, music, household furniture, for articles of every kind, in bad taste, there

will be a sufficient supply. The result is reflected in the lives of those who make use of such things, in the cheapness of their ideas, in their manners, in every feature of their existence.

This prevailing horror can only be abolished by educational methods, by a judicious contrasting of the good and the bad, by experience. If we took the trouble to show our children the wickedness of bad work, of bad taste, the world would be inconceivably better. Experience is the only safe guide in these matters and no amount of lecturing will bring about a real change. There is always a danger of manufacturing *poseurs* and cranks. Nothing but a sane exposition of the principles which govern these matters will preserve us from these. Such a training is not a matter for school hours, although it requires a competent teacher. It is none the less work that will be done in the school community of the future.

CHAPTER VIII

DISCIPLINE

The word 'discipline' is so frequently used in connection with schools and children, that it is just as well that we should understand exactly what it means. The "Oxford Dictionary" defines it as "order maintained among school-boys, soldiers, prisoners, etc." Now, when we see an advertisement for a teacher with the proviso that he must be a good disciplinarian, we shall know precisely what is wanted,—someone corresponding to a drill sergeant or a prison warden. Are our children to be classed with soldiers or with criminals? In what respect do they need coercion? Let us see what this discipline really means. It is forced necessary obedience to the commands of others, an obedience that must be rendered without question, without comprehension, without apparent reason. Its usefulness in the army goes without question; it is so self evident that there is no need for further explanation on the point; its usefulness in the convict prison is also easily comprehensible

if we admit the necessity for convict prisons. The reason for discipline in schools is by no means so obvious. In the schools of the future, we shall find, not discipline, but self-assertion and self-control, which are much more valuable. The disciplined child is capable of a certain course of action only in certain prearranged circumstances. So is a dog, or a horse. When those preconceived circumstances are not forthcoming, the disciplined child is no more capable of reasonable action than the dog or the horse. Discipline kills the faculty of thought by gradually rendering automatic, actions and processes of thought which react only when the call for action is delivered in one particular way. A child at school may be a model of all the virtues ; immediately he leaves school and comes into contact with real temptation, he falls, because the circumstances, the environment, are novel, and he is unable to distinguish between what is good and what is bad, or to foresee the results that must follow from any course of action he may take. He is like a plant suddenly transferred from a conservatory to the Arctic regions, quite incapable of adapting himself to his surroundings. In the same way he is unfitted for work, because school discipline has drilled him into certain preconceived ideas ; all his activities run in certain deep grooves, out of which it is impossible to disengage them.

At the same time, while compelling the child to follow a regular course of action in some ways, we have proceeded with our spoiling process in others, by doing for him everything which we have not taught him to do by means of discipline. This process we begin when he is quite a little baby, and continue so long as he remains at school. So he becomes more and more helpless as time goes on, and it is afterwards impossible to remedy the defect. It is a most striking fact that those boys who have been considered least amenable to discipline at school usually end by becoming our most valuable citizens. The men who succeed in the world are not those who have had all the opportunities of a disciplined schooling, but they who were brought face to face with difficulties and problems in their very childhood. They have learnt from experience how to take things coolly, how to act in emergencies, how to meet difficulties and turn them to advantage. The school system in vogue at present is doing the very opposite of this. We are rapidly becoming panicky and helpless. If a water pipe bursts in our houses, we are content to put a bucket beneath the hole, and send for the plumber. When he comes and discovers that he has left a tool at home, he finds it impossible to make shift with another. We can only act when the gods are propitious, and

withal we are rapidly becoming a soft, pleasure-loving people, with an absolute lack of all initiative, dependent entirely upon those who by some fortunate chance were not spoiled in their childhood by that extraordinary mixture of "let-me-come-and-do-that-Tommy," and "don't-you-dare-to-do-this-Tommy" which we dare to designate by the sacred name of education.

We must get rid at once of the fallacy and all its attendant evils. Fear of punishment is a very poor motive for obedience. Even obedience due to affection is not the highest form. If something is to be done, it should be done because it is right; if it is to be left undone, it must be dropped because it is wrong. There should not be the slightest similarity between our schools and the barracks or the prison: we have no need of discipline other than rational self-discipline or self control.

For this antiquated system, a soul-destroying travesty of that method of training and hardening which made our forefathers real men, and helped to lay the foundations of the Empire, we must substitute self-assertion tempered by self-control. This is a very different thing, and can only be secured by very different methods. In its essence, it is much more simple. It consists really in the discovery of the true value of phenomena, the true results of certain actions,

the ultimate end of certain courses of action. It is gained by the safest and most thorough of all methods,—experience. “A burnt child dreads the fire.” Probably he will not dread the fire until he has been burnt. In the same way he will acquire no virtues worth the name, until he has learnt the practice of them by free and continual exercise.

There is no special recipe for the manufacture of this quality of reasoned self-assertion. It is not acquired suddenly, and it is not inculcated by any process of instruction. It follows naturally upon a rational attitude of the teacher towards the child, and of the child towards the teacher, and, more than all, of the child to the world of life with which he comes freely and naturally into contact. He begins to acquire it as a baby, as unconsciously as he learns to support himself in the purely physical sense. One of the reasons for the failure of our educational system is that it for ever keeps its victims in a world of unreality, of unnatural conditions, entirely out of touch with the requirements of life. In no sense is the schooling of the present day a preparation or a training for the real business of life. If all our school children were mentally or physically defective, we could not do more to preserve them from contact with the difficulties of existence. We seem to take it for

granted that they must fail in any trial. We treat them as if they were brittle and would break at the first contact with anything hard.

For a discussion of the relative values of the system which Mr. Holmes, in "What is and What might be," calls mechanical obedience, as compared with that true obedience which is alone compatible with self-realisation, I must refer the reader to the most interesting book which I have just mentioned.¹ The whole question is adequately discussed there. But one or two facts stand out pre-eminently, and it is well that they should be mentioned here. Hitherto, our schools have insisted upon an unquestioning obedience, exactly the same in its nature as that exacted from convicts. Unconsciously, but none the less really, we assume that our children are incapable of realising the difference between what is good and what is bad for them. We are inclined to think it more likely that they will choose the bad than the good. So, in order to make quite sure that this does not happen, we take from them every opportunity of freedom, and take upon ourselves the function that is the birthright of the child. We assume the place of his faculty of judgment, his common sense, and his capacity for discerning right from wrong. We entirely

¹ "What is and What might be," Constable, 1911.

ignore the fact that the rudiments of these qualities exist in the child as really as they exist in us. We substitute our own will for that of the child, and insist upon an unhesitating obedience to our commands. It is the easier way. But we quite overlook the fact that faculties which are not exercised, in time become atrophied and useless, and that when once lost they are never recoverable. If, in the process of education, we allow this sad state of affairs to come about, we must not be surprised to find our victim perfectly helpless and useless as a man of the world. Surely there is no feature more noticeable about the products of our educational system than this appalling lack of self-sufficiency, self-control and initiative. This is the direct result of our system of discipline. We rely upon external compulsion, and in return receive only external obedience. As Mrs. Dorothy Canfield Fisher very clearly points out,¹ the physically stronger can undoubtedly compel obedience by standing over the weaker with a thick stick. It is not always so, but nearly always. This is just what we do with the child. So long as the fear of punishment remains, obedience can be secured; when the fear of punishment goes, the obedience goes with it. What is such obedience worth? As mental training, it is useless; when, as so

¹ "The Montessori Mother," Constable, 1913, 4s. 6d.

often happens, it is applied to actions which are almost a physical impossibility for the child, it is positively harmful, and results in the formation of habits of callous disobedience which alternate with habits of deceit. Punishment becomes so common that it becomes far more important to the child's mind than the fault for which it is administered. In course of time, a strong child learns to despise it, while a weak child falls into a state of habitual sneakiness and deceit. Both agree in avoiding effort.

What is the alternative? It is perfectly simple and natural, but it demands a little more trouble on the part of parents and teachers. It consists in the utilisation of that extraordinary capacity for interest which exists in every unspoiled child. It consists further in requiring from the child nothing that is beyond his physical and mental capacity. This we can only learn from observation. Another point that should not be lost from sight is that we must abandon the deeply rooted distrust of the child which seems to inspire all our methods of dealing with him. Again we must begin the rational method at the very beginning. We have an admirable instructress in the Dottoressa Montessori. Mrs. Fisher describes an incident which she herself witnessed in one of the schools at Rome, which illustrates the positive attitude of the Montessori method better

than any amount of explanation. She was watching the preparations for the midday meal. One very small child was unable to tuck his napkin under his chin as all the other children had done. He tried for some time and finally jumped up and brought it to his teacher. What happened? Instead of tucking it in for him and sending him off, as nine hundred and ninety-nine out of every thousand parents or teachers would have done, "she held it up in her hands, showed the child how to take hold of a larger part of a corner than he had been grasping, and illustrating on herself, gave him an object lesson. Then she gave it back to him. He had caught the idea evidently, but his undisciplined little fingers, out of sight under his chin, would not follow the direction of his brain, which, from the grave intentness of his baby face, was evidently working at top speed. With a sigh . . . he took out the crumpled bit of linen and looked at it sadly. I clasped my hands together tightly to keep them from accomplishing the operation in a twinkling. Why, the poor child's soup was getting cold.

Again I wish to reiterate the statement that the teacher did not tuck in that napkin. She took it once more and went through very slowly all the necessary movements. The child's big black eyes fastened upon her in a passion of

attention, and I noticed that his little empty hands followed automatically the slow, distinctly separated and analysed movements of the teacher's hands. When she gave the napkin back to him, he seized it with an air of resolution which would have done honour to Napoleon, grasping it firmly and holding his wandering baby wits together with the aid of a determined frown. He pulled his collar away from his neck with one hand, and, still frowning determinedly, thrust a large corner of the napkin down with the other, spreading out the remainder on his chest with a long sigh of utter satisfaction."

Now this was a very simple matter, but just one of those things that we do not think of doing. It saves both time and trouble, *for the time being*, to perform the action for the child. Besides, as Mrs. Fisher remarks, "the poor child's soup was getting cold." But what was the result? The child would never experience any further difficulty in performing that particular action. He realised his own capabilities; he had learnt to become independent of others. The example is typical of the whole spirit of the Montessori method.

Society, the world itself, rests upon a foundation of obedience. We are quite right, therefore, in demanding that our children shall learn and practise what is an essential virtue. But it is useless for us to say to a very small child,

“ You must do this because I tell you,” and expect him to understand what we mean, for he is incapable of doing so. If he obeys, it will be either because he *wishes* to do the action, or because he is *afraid* of punishment, or again because he is *anxious to please*. Punishment for the non-fulfilment of an action which the child is incapable of comprehending, is unjust. What, then, are we to do ? At present we inculcate habits of disobedience, not of obedience, and these are accompanied by the equally objectionable habits of deceit and dishonesty. The chief trouble about this is that these habits continue in later years, so that when we might reasonably begin to teach obedience to our children, we can no longer do so, for the contrary habits are irradicably fixed in the child’s mind. The less we say to the small child about obedience, the better. We must content ourselves with laying a firm foundation for the instruction that may be given later when he is capable of understanding it. This may be done by providing the child with opportunities for self-realisation and self-control that are within his powers. The desire for self-development is inherent in childhood, and our failure to realise this, and the setting of our own motives in the place of those which really actuate the child are responsible for many failures. We see a child

filling a tin bucket with sand, and imagine that he puts sand in it because he wishes to fill it—to accomplish an end. This is quite untrue. He is urged on by a subconscious impulse to achieve the impossible, which keeps him constantly occupied, often much to our disgust, but greatly to his own advantage.

“The child prefers the action of dressing himself to the state of being dressed, even finely dressed. He prefers the act of washing himself to the satisfaction of being clean. He prefers to make a little house for himself rather than merely to own it. His own self-development is his true and almost his only pleasure. The self-development of the little baby up to the end of his first year consists to a large degree in taking in nutriment, but afterwards it consists in aiding the orderly establishment of the physiological functions of his organism.

“With the same erroneous idea, that the end to be obtained is the completion of the action: we dress and wash the child; we snatch out of his hands objects which he loves to handle; we pour the soup into his bowl, we set the table for him. And after such services, we consider him, with that injustice always practised by those who domineer over others, even with benevolent intentions, to be incapable and inept. We often speak of him as impatient simply because we

are not patient enough to allow his actions to follow laws of time differing from our own: we call him tyrannical exactly because we employ tyranny towards him. This stain, this false imputation, this calumny on childhood has become an integral part of the theories concerning childhood, in reality so patient and gentle.

“The child, like every strong creature fighting for the right to live, rebels against whatever offends that occult impulse within him which is the voice of nature and which he ought to obey; and shows by violent actions, by screaming and weeping, that he has been overborne and forced away from his mission in life. He shows himself to be a rebel, a revolutionist, an iconoclast, against those who do not understand him, and who, fancying that they are helping him, are really pushing him backward in the highway of life. Thus even the adult who loves him rivets about his neck another calumny, confusing his defence of his molested life with a form of innate naughtiness characteristic of little children.”¹

Until we realise this great principle—that Nature provides all the necessary implements for self-development, so far as the little child is concerned, our education will be useless. Non-interference must take the place of the present *régime* of interference at every turn. Too much

¹ Dr. M. Montessori, “The Montessori Method,” Heineman.

commanding, too much assisting and too little reliance upon inherent capacities and powers have been the ruin of our schools. We must not forget either that a great deal more than we imagine depends upon the way in which the development of the child is conducted. Habits of mind and body are formed from the very tenderest years, which nothing will be able to alter in later years.

When we come to deal with older children the case is different. Habits of bodily self-control have become fixed, and physical equilibrium has become more stable. It is now that the child must learn that he is not merely an individual, but a responsible member of society, with duties and responsibilities to the rest of the world. He becomes a member of a definite, social institution—the school. How shall he be made to realise not only the privileges of his position, but also the limitations? By what means shall perfect control over the school be assured? At present we secure a semblance of order and control by discipline. It is merely a semblance, because it is based upon motives of fear, and when these are removed, the whole system falls to the ground. Habits of deceit and disobedience when nobody is watching are a heritage from the infant school, and unfortunately also from the home. There is no real self-control and self-

suppression, and consequently no basis to work upon. In the school of the future, I believe that all this will be altered. Children will have no such vitiating influences to counteract. They will be inquisitive and full of life, for such is their nature, but they will have realised the reasonableness of the suggestions which the teacher is accustomed to make from time to time, and that will be all. They will have advanced beyond the first stages of infancy, and their needs will be quite different and far more psychical than physical. How are they to be kept in order? Only by allowing for the development and the exercise of the moral faculties in the same way that we have previously allowed for the development and the exercise of the physical and mental faculties. At present we do nothing but "talk" morals in our schools. We have lessons on citizenship, on civics, on religion even, but very little exercise of these necessary virtues. Morality is treated as an abstract virtue which may need to be practised at some future time, but which has very little bearing upon the life of the school. At the same time, we give lessons upon citizenship, upon the duties of the individual to the community, about democracy, social responsibilities, etc., without the slightest practical application. Yet there is a real instinct within the boy and the girl that urges them to

the exercise of these duties which, after all, are quite rudimentary. The success of the Boy Scout movement is entirely due to its provision of opportunities which the school might have provided, but has failed to provide. To a very large extent, I believe that the school of the future will be managed by itself. The one distinguishing feature which places our public schools above all the schools of all other countries is directly due, not to the masters, but to the boys themselves, to their secret organisations rather than their official organisation, to their traditional *esprit de corps*. Each of the great schools, with all its faults, possesses a definite code of honour, a definite system of self-government, an unwritten tradition that contains some elements which are perhaps of doubtful value, but much that is good also. I need not enlarge upon this point, for every one who has been a boy at a public school will understand what I mean, while those who have not, have had the picture placed before them in its most vivid light in "Tom Brown's Schooldays." There is plenty of fault to be found with the shortcomings and the unreality of the work done in our great public and secondary schools, but there is at least this one great fact in their favour. Why should the public schools alone possess such an asset? It would be just as useful in the second-

ary schools that are springing up all over the country, and it would be more useful still in the elementary schools, which at present are practically devoid of any such spirit.

Now, this is the point which I wish to make. If boys without any external prompting are able to fall in with, and adapt themselves to, a form of government at once so autocratic and so democratic, a system of their own devising, why should they not be just as ready to adapt the same principle to the more serious business of school life? The experiment has already been made with young criminals in the United States. It was tried, that is to say, upon children whose education had already proved their undoing, and it succeeded admirably. Only to a very small extent has the experiment been tried upon normal children. We seem to make all our experiments upon those who are abnormal, either through our own fault or by unhappy accident. Madame Montessori developed her wonderful theories by investigations with mentally defective children. If criminals are able, by means of a rational use of the freedom which has hitherto been denied them, to overcome and to counteract failings for which they are primarily not responsible, but which have become deeply rooted within them, surely normal children, without any such adverse handicap, should be able to use their

freedom to even much greater advantage. This, I believe, will be the line upon which the Dottor-essa will develop her principles and her methods for older children. It is a natural consequence of her theory so far as she has already expressed it. Undoubtedly, it will be the principle upon which the schools of the future will be based. It will mean the setting up of the standard of liberty within the school, and the lowering of that of discipline and suppression.

To return to the question of obedience. It is possible to learn to obey too well. If we insist so entirely upon the suppression of self that is contained in the principle of obedience, we shall find that in time, the boy will learn only to obey and never to assert his own individuality. Yet this is just what he needs most, though it is this natural instinct, urging him all the while to express himself, which is most suppressed at the commands of his teachers and superiors. Consequently, very often he gives up the struggle, and loses both intelligence, initiative and consciousness ; he ceases to have any faith in himself, and begins to rely entirely upon others. When the restraining influence is removed, he is helpless, and the impulses, which would have proved his strength, had they been allowed reasonable self-expression, now burst forth upon him as his enemies, and frequently lead him to ruin. There

is very little originality in the world, and under the circumstances this is not to be wondered at. During the period of adolescence, the boy becomes more and more conscious of the powers within him—of himself. Instead of stifling this perfectly natural and utterly useful instinct, teachers should encourage it. The limitations which as yet the child does not realise, will soon, of themselves, convince him of their existence. He must be treated as an entity, an individual of purpose, whose difficulty in life will be to realise his environment and adapt himself to it. Thus, instead of the shallow fatalism which is the bane of civilisation to-day, we shall procure a spirit of determined purpose accompanied by hope.

The average working man of the present day regards himself as the victim of objectionable but inevitable circumstances. When he left school as a boy, he took exactly what was offered to him, and made no effort to improve himself. He sees nothing in work except the necessary and hateful means whereby he may secure for himself amusement. His amusements are in keeping with his intellectuality. He has neither self-confidence nor self-respect. This result is entirely and directly due to the type of so-called education that has been inflicted upon him against his will and in complete contradiction with all laws of development, human and divine.

In the schools of the future the adolescent will learn that it is quite natural that he should desire to express himself, and at the same time he will discover by experience that self-expression is not realised in a moment. He will learn how to balance his desires and his impulses against the limitations imposed by the moral law and by the circumstances of his environment. He will learn these things, I repeat, by experience, and that means that he will be left free occasionally to see where his unrestrained impulses will lead him. Instead of the automatic action induced by a system of force and unreasoned obedience, he will adopt a certain line of action because it is the right one, and his character instead of being weakened will be immeasurably and permanently strengthened. I have already referred to the Boy Scout movement, founded by Sir R. S. S. Baden-Powell. Teachers have a great deal to learn from it.

There is another aspect to the case against discipline which needs to be insisted upon. At present we content ourselves very frequently with merely forbidding certain courses of action; we offer nothing in their place. The result is that the boy,¹ finding his natural inclinations thwarted, turns about for other occupations, and generally

¹ This remark, with most of the others I have made about boys, is equally applicable to girls.

manages to find some a thousand times more dangerous than those with which Nature had provided him. He begins to delight in what is hidden and mysterious, in what is evil rather than in what is good, and ultimately forms habits of immorality from which he will find it very difficult to extricate himself. It has been well said that "immorality waits upon discipline as criminality waits upon civilisation." We are beginning to realise, and it is very poor policy to refuse to look such facts in the face, that "more sexual perversion is due to the suppression of comparatively harmless acts and words, than educationists dream of. This does not mean that doubtful morality should be encouraged either in word or deed, but we should consider consequences before suppressing trivial allusions."¹ In the future, the boy will have all his time and energy engaged in looking after himself, in preparing, practically, for the real business of life, and he will then feel no inclination for interference in what are merely byways of life.

A serious attempt must be made to render the conditions of school life more like those of life in the world. This does not mean that an infant school should assimilate itself to an office or a workshop, but gradually, as the children grow

¹ Cyril Bruyn Andrews, "The Study of Adolescent Education," 1912.

older, they should be led to accustom themselves to actual conditions of existence. The school should adopt the community manner of existence, in which the children should make their own laws, and as far as possible, put them into execution. This is not discipline but self-government, and a very different thing. Thus would be created a code of conduct, which would be the result of the children's own experience, and in which the system of morality would be easily within their comprehension.

To place, as we do, an elaborated adult code of morality before a child whose mind and experience are alike unformed, and to tell him brusquely that he must fashion his life and his conduct thereby, is an unqualified absurdity. A code of morality is indeed a necessity, but it should be a code which the child is capable of comprehending as well as obeying, and the necessity for which he is able to perceive. We must continually bear in mind the fact that an action performed by a child may have its origin quite differently from the same action performed by an adult. I do not say that the child's code of morality should be different from that of the adult, but it should be presented in a different way if it is to reach the heart of the child, and have any permanent value. We will insist upon treating as moral delinquencies of the first

order what are in reality merely trivialities or faults of temperament which judicious handling may transform into positive virtues.

It is an extraordinary fact that in all our dealings with boys and girls we have never made use of, and hardly taken into account, the extraordinary anxiety of the child and the adolescent to show that he is not a fool, but a creature capable of accepting responsibility. This is a very serious throwing away of a priceless opportunity. By wasting it we are again thwarting Nature's system of self-development, for the advance towards perfection of every faculty depends entirely upon the exercise which it receives. In the school of the future all this will be changed. The school will become a small community governed and regulated by itself. Its laws will be rational, fashioned, administered, and when necessary, enforced, by the members of the community. When an offence against the school community is committed it will be punished by the community itself, acting through its own appointed officers. What a difference this will make in the relations between teacher and pupil. The teacher will no longer be considered a merely ogreish executioner, an objectionable person to be escaped from as soon as possible, to be deceived whenever possible, to be circumvented in every possible way. How much will

be gained in the complete intimacy and sympathy that will replace the distrust and enmity which exists so often at the present day. But the greatest result of all, will be the realisation of a social sense, a recognition of social responsibility, an intelligent grasp of the principle of authority, a knowledge of its privileges and its duties.

To those who find themselves unable to believe that boys, even the comparatively young boys of our elementary schools, are capable of governing themselves, and of doing it well, I commend a study of "Citizens Made and Remade" by W. R. George and Lyman Beecher Stowe,¹ and especially that chapter in it which treats of self-government in schools. The authors give an account of a school in New York which was very largely composed of children of different nationalities. The Lieutenant-Governor, we are told, was fifteen years of age and small at that. "All offences committed outside the class-room are tried by the citizens themselves. In the class the teacher is in absolute charge unless she cares to avail herself of the court, in which case the Attorney-General conducts the prosecution and represents the teacher or the principal. The penalties inflicted are, (a) reparation where possible, (b) apology, (c) reprimand in court, (d) reprimand in class, (e) detention after school,

¹ Constable, 1913.

(f) imposition of demerit marks, (g) deprivation of the rights of citizenship for a stated period, which involves the forfeiture of civic rights in halls, playgrounds, and on the streets.”

“In another large public school in New York City (P.S. 110, Manhattan) the boy Governor was apparently successfully re-elected. He received the congratulations of his fellows and his teachers, was inaugurated, and started on his second term as Chief Executive. After some weeks in office he discovered that in counting the votes, a certain room of younger children, only recently admitted to the suffrage, had been accidentally omitted. He at once appealed to the principal for a recount. The principal demurred. . . . The boy finally insisted that he would have to resign unless the votes were recounted. Accordingly a recount was taken, in which the young Governor was counted out of office, and his chief rival installed in his place. The new boy Governor appointed his defeated rival commissioner of health, one of the most important offices in his gift.”

No one, after reading this extraordinary book, could fail to be convinced of the complete success of self-government under the most difficult conditions. In one school the most *difficile* of the boys became a great success when appointed chief Commissioner of Police.

But such an ideal state of affairs will not be achieved all at once. There are certain essential preliminaries; (*a*) a complete recasting of the traditional subject matter of the curriculum, with some additions; (*b*) the acceptance by parents and others of the principle upon which such an ideal is based. This will be necessary to guarantee the non-interference of the parents in the working out of the ideal; (*c*) the evolution of a new type of teacher. It will be extremely difficult to overcome the unceasing desire of some fond parents to do everything for their children. It will be equally difficult to overcome that selfishness and disinclination to take trouble that shows itself in the professed lover of obedience for its own sake. In reality, it never does mean this, it means less trouble for the person who wishes something to be done. It saves explanations when explanations are inconvenient. What it does for the child, I have tried to point out in the course of this chapter.

The teacher difficulty is also serious, but it is more a matter of time than anything else. We need the best of men for our teachers, men and women who realise that the main business of their lives is not the earning of their own living; who are filled with a sense of the greatness of the teacher's vocation, and at the same time with a proper respect and affection for the chil-

dren whose activities it is their purpose to direct. The teacher must himself possess in a large degree the qualities which he desires to see acquired by the child, not because he must be able to impress his own personality upon the child, but because he knows by experience how the qualities are to be obtained.

Much can be done at once. The change from the dominance of the disciplinary idea to that of liberty for self-assertion, self-realisation and self-control, needs no elaborate apparatus, no great expenditure of the nation's wealth. Instead, all that is needed is the expenditure of some reason and common-sense, and the clearing away of that cobweb of prejudice which hangs about education and hinders progress. But if the change should mean the expenditure of every farthing of the nation's revenue, the result would still make it worth while. Men are worth more than money, and a healthy, happy nation than all the gold mines of the earth.

CHAPTER IX

EDUCATION AND SEX

WE English are afflicted with a wonderful lack of the sense of proportion. We magnify small things and neglect what is important; we turn our virtues into vices, and are apt to consider our failings as the very acme of righteousness. We are the slaves of our preconceived ideas, and we will make no effort to be free. I shall make no apology for treating in this book a subject which seems to me of the very gravest importance in the matter of education, because it is so intimately bound up with the interests of adolescence. We neglect the existence of sex. We bring up our children as if we were unaware of its existence. Yet it is one of those factors, perhaps the most dangerous of all, which may be the cause of irretrievable ruin both of mind and body. When we look at the part played by sex in the making of the world, its power as an incentive to action, the importance of its natural purpose and use, and, on the other hand, the misery and wretchedness caused by its misuse, it is difficult to under-

stand how we can ever have come to leave it out of all account in our study of the education of children. If we could only pull ourselves out of the natural distaste which we feel, and face the question fairly and squarely, we might be able to prevent a great deal of the wretchedness which now exists in the world. To shake the head, and say with an air of affected wisdom, "These questions are better left alone," is a wicked and cowardly way of shirking a duty. Experience has proved over and over again that our policy of inaction is disastrous. It is unnatural, it is opposed to all rational principles, we are continually suffering from its effects, and yet we will not change it. There is no virtue in ignorance, and yet we persist in treating ignorance as though it were innocence. Nothing could be more immoral. Year by year, we allow thousands of boys and girls to go headlong to their ruin, a holocaust to the obstinacy and wilful blindness of parents and teachers. Our public schools are often hot-beds of immorality of a more or less serious form; our secondary schools are by no means free from the same charge. Even in the elementary schools there is sometimes a tinge of that spirit which leads afterwards to actual immorality. I cannot quote examples here, but such is the case, and I know that head-teachers have sometimes the greatest difficulty in putting a stop to indecent

practices. What steps do we take to remedy this state of affairs, which has its reaction upon society in general? The question is one primarily and properly for parents, but, as I shall show, it is not for them alone. Most parents leave the matter entirely alone, and the majority of schools do likewise. We know that in time, and somehow or other, our children will find out the facts of sex, but instead of telling them decently ourselves, we prefer that they should learn them almost accidentally, and certainly surreptitiously, from servants or from bad companions at school. How else do we imagine that they are to gain their knowledge? The most charitable view that can be taken of parents and teachers who hold this opinion is that they are unaware of the dangers to which they are exposing their children by leaving them in ignorance.

One of our chief delusions is that of considering sex as an instinct or an impulse apart, having no reaction upon the mind or the body except so far, perhaps, as it is directly abused. We consider too that the question of sex may be entirely unconsidered in the case of children before the age of puberty. The matter cannot be definitely settled, but it seems probable that all our preconceived ideas on the subject are wrong. There is a strong presumption that the impulse which we are accustomed to call sex is composed not of

one but of several elements, some of which manifest themselves from the very earliest years. According to Dr. G. Stanley Hall, who is explaining the Freudian theory, what we have been accustomed to call sex is a composite of many elements, some of which are manifest almost at birth, and these components develop more or less independently, and all tend to have their fling, one after another, and then some are repressed by shame or censure, or perhaps fall out entirely as the body grows. Others are only inhibited in their outward manifestations, but persist, often with great vigour, below consciousness, where they are in all stages of submergence often quite below the reach of voluntary attention. The rest of these components are during normal puberty united and organised under the leadership of the sexual zone, and become known as sexual. As they exist in children, they consist in what is common to both sexes, and constitute sex neuters, and they can later enter into constellations of either sex, though in different proportions. They have their outcome in specific traits, for example, passionate sucking, interest in all that pertains to both excrementations, and various auto-eroticisms which later evolve into self-abuse. Then they take on more objective forms which may develop into either good or bad qualities, according to the

measure of treatment which they receive in education. It is suggested that these elements are extremely plastic, and that the proper treatment of them may make all the difference to the future character of the child. According to this view sexual perversions are only exaggerations or aggravations of normal tendencies, whereas the same tendencies, if rightly treated, would have developed in the opposite direction. The tendencies must not be inhibited, but transformed and directed into other channels. The theory amounts to this: we are endowed by Nature with an impulse that is far more than necessary for the purpose for which it is intended; if we take the surplus and use it properly, it will expend itself in useful activities, religious, æsthetic or economic. If we do not treat it properly, we get nothing but trouble from it. A natural consequence of the acceptance of this view, which appears to be the true one, is an increased sense of the importance of pre-pubertal education, not necessarily in matters of sex, but as a means of directing the accidental concomitants of sex. The responsibility of the parent and the teacher is thereby increased.

It is unfortunately only too well proved that quite small children may be given to very undesirable habits. It is the duty of the parent and the nurse to guard against this, for the

effects of such practices upon the health of the child cannot fail to be serious. Unfortunately, some parents unconsciously encourage the formation of such habits by the excessive coddling of their children. An ordinary observance of the laws of hygiene will prevent anything of the sort. I believe that the mischief usually begins when, in response to that natural inquisitiveness of the child, he is told some story with regard to the origin of babies which his common sense, a quality we are always slow to admit, tells him is absurd. He is told, perhaps, that little boys should not ask questions, as if little boys can help asking questions. This may happen when the child is quite young, perhaps not more than eight years of age. He is repulsed, but the matter does not end there. In his own mind, almost subconsciously, he continues to think about the matter, and sets to work in his own way to find out what he can from other sources. Why should the child be told lies? It would be much wiser for his mother to explain to him quite simply and without any appearance of mystery, that he was born of her, just as little birds and little kittens are born of their mothers. No one better than a mother is capable of giving this information in the most natural way, if she pleases. The child will only be drawn more closely into touch with her, and feel that really

and truly he does belong to her. He may be taught at the same time that these matters are very sacred, and that they should not be talked about or treated lightly. But the sense of mystery, which is the one great source of danger, will have been dispelled, and further information may be given without fear of any ill results, by degrees, when opportunities offer, and in the same natural and simple manner. The processes of generation are universal, and sooner or later the child will see something which will again arouse his curiosity. If he has discovered that his parents will give him the information he seeks, he will undoubtedly come to them as he comes to them for information upon every other matter. If he has been repulsed, he will go elsewhere, and the trouble will have been begun.

He may be taken into the garden and shown how the flowers are fertilised ; how every created being belongs either to one sex or the other. So, when questions are asked, or when a suitable opportunity occurs, more and more information may be given, the greatest care being taken to avoid showing any signs of repugnance for the subject, and to avoid shocking the delicacy of the child in any way. This is most essential.

As soon as the child must begin to come into close contact with other children, especially those

older than himself, we reach a period when it is necessary to go a little farther. A great deal depends upon circumstances. The social position of the parents has a good deal to do with the matter. The children of the poor are surrounded by influences which render a fuller initiation necessary at an earlier age; in the case of the wealthier classes, the initiation may well be deferred as long as possible, which usually means until the child is ready to go to school. In such a case, however, it is well to make quite sure that the servants may be trusted. In any case, the instruction should not be thrown in one solid mass, headlong, at the child. Above all, he should not be given a book to read. Probably, he would not understand it, and there are few books which do not go a great deal too far. Moreover, individual children differ to such an extent that what may be quite harmless in one case may prove exceedingly harmful in another. So far as the elementary school child is concerned, it would seem as though a great deal of this sexual *éclaircissement* must be left to the teacher, at least so far as the immediate future is concerned. This is not by any means an ideal state of affairs, but it is better that such an enlightening should come from a teacher who has received special training for this very purpose, than from depraved older companions. But, so far as the elementary

school is concerned, class teaching is out of the question, and what is done must be done indirectly, and as if accidentally in the course of nature-study lessons. The teacher will not be able to do everything, but he will be able to do much. He must trust more to the environment he will be able to create, to the tone of his school, the co-operation of his older pupils, and above all to the opportunities he is able to provide for the turning of the sexual impulse into other working channels. In the last year of school life, something more direct may be attempted, but it would be better in such a case to let the instruction come from the school medical officer rather than the teacher. Beyond that, what I am about to say with regard to secondary and preparatory schools, applies with equal force to vocational schools.

The period of adolescence is fraught with many dangers, physical, mental and moral, and it is during this period that there is the greatest danger of sexual perversion. It requires therefore special safeguards and precautions. Apart altogether from the total lack of provision against this danger, the very atmosphere of our schools is calculated to encourage the evil and to diminish the child's chances of escape. We do nothing to encourage the growth of a sense of personal responsibility,—quite the contrary; all the fail-

ings which tend to make the schools of the present day so useless in most respects, tend also to make them, what in point of fact they are, nurseries of vice, of immorality and of disease. I need not go over them again here, but they are all accentuated in a greater degree in a secondary boarding school, and in a less degree in a secondary day school. To begin with, the gathering together of large numbers of one sex, alone, is always conducive to sexual perversion, no less with adolescents than with adults. This is one of the arguments in favour of the co-education of the sexes of which I shall speak later in this chapter. Moreover, the whole mode of life in the boarding-school tends to encourage immorality, owing to purely physical causes. The repression of individuality, the whole system of organisation both of games and of studies, combines with ignorance to draw children, at the most dangerous and impressionable age, into a regular whirlpool of vice. When we do step in and try to interfere, we generally attempt to cure instead of to prevent, and to emphasize an aspect of the case which the adolescent is quite incapable of grasping. There is no better safeguard than good common-sense religion. Unfortunately religion is "bad form" in our schools, for it is generally associated with hypocrisy, and there is nothing which the healthy boy loathes and

despises so much as sham piety. The boy's code of morality is one of his own making ; it can be formed by a skilful and capable teacher, but it will be formed indirectly and by no amount of preaching. Religion to be effective as a safeguard against temptation must be thoroughly personal, and it must appeal to the common sense of the boy. At the very period when sexual desire begins to make itself apparent, there is undoubtedly the awakening of a religious impulse also, and it is evident that the one must be utilised to the fullest extent in order to neutralise the other. In Roman Catholic schools, the importance of the religious factor is fully realised, and the result amply justifies the use that is made of it. There is always a priest to whom the boy may go with the tale of his temptations and his troubles. He knows that he will get a sympathetic hearing and advice, and he does get, not sentimental vapourings, but just a plain common-sense talk, such as he would receive from an experienced medical man, with the religious element thrown in. It would be well if every school possessed some kind of father confessor. When the boy has done wrong, he longs to tell some one. As a rule there is no one to whom he can go, or feels disposed to go. By degrees he becomes hardened and does not care.

Sometimes when a boy is suspected of bad

habits, the Head or a form-master will call the boy before him and give him what is fondly imagined to be good advice. Probably, it consists mainly of a lecture on the terrible consequences to mind and body that follow the practice of self-abuse. The boy goes away very frightened, and for a certain time refrains. But these terrible things do not happen, and he begins to think that once more he has been told a lie with regard to sexual matters, and becomes ten times worse than before. He is quite right. The terrible results are the exception and not the rule. In the case of children of abnormal mentality, or who are not physically fit, insanity may very occasionally supervene, but the regular result is not so apparent. There are many boys who may give themselves up to bad habits for years without any direct ill results beyond a general weakening of character which generally ends in a dull mediocrity.

Much greater attention should be paid to the influence of the imagination upon the sexual instinct. Imagination is a very dangerous and yet a very useful weapon in the hands of the educationist, but the very boys whose imagination leads them to sexual excess are those who might have been capable of direction into lofty idealism. The sexual pervert is often a person of the greatest intellectual attainments, and it

has quite recently been said that all men of genius, especially those of artistic genius, are the victims of sexual perversion. However this may be, and there appears to be some truth in the suggestion, it only goes to show that the imaginative faculties should be treated with the very greatest care during the period of adolescence, and should be allowed all possible exercise in lawful directions, lest they should direct themselves in the wrong way.

Mr. Cyril Bruyn Andrews, in a most useful book,¹ discusses with great care the systems which have been devised for curing the condition of immorality which prevails in so many of our schools.² He deals first with what he calls the conservative method, which is based upon the principles of obedience to the will of others rather than self-discipline following a sense of personality and constant supervision, aided by dogmatic religion and athleticism. Following in the footsteps of Dr. Havelock Ellis and the German authorities upon sexual pathology, Mr. Andrews seems to have made a thorough investigation of cause, treatment and effect, so that his remarks upon the results of this system have

¹ "The Study of Adolescent Education," Rebman, 1912.

² According to some competent authorities, ninety-five per cent. of all boys are given to habits of self-abuse at some period of adolescence.

especial value. He speaks first of the failure of supervision. All personal interest and the craving for self-expression are entirely ignored ; the boy is treated as a machine and not as a human being with natural passions. Only a weak and lifeless boy is satisfied with a system of dictated routine. The impulses which urge boys to secret and hidden action, impulses that are probably phylogenetic, and therefore inevitable, are also ignored. The more a boy is watched, the greater becomes his desire to escape observation, and, as a rule, the more evil do his inclinations become. The worst forms of immorality often occur under the very eye of the master.

Religion fails because it is taught instead of practised. Religion to the boy must be primarily a matter of experience just in the same way as education. The boy, as I have said before, is not a miniature adult, and he cannot appreciate an adult system of religion. Moreover, a continual preaching of religion often drives boys into a condition of temporary atheism that is anything but beneficial.

Athletics fail, because they must be free and spontaneous activities to be of any use. A muscular body trained by another's will is useless. "It is only so far as the boy or girl finds in games an outlet for that individual expression for which he craves, that bodily prowess can be

a sign of moral virtue. Moreover, the athletic pervert may have the very worst of influences in that his evident immunity from ill results may have a bad effect upon those who are weaker. Again, to the pervert any bodily sensation increases the feeling of energy."

Finally the results of the system form the most conclusive proof of its inadequacy. According to Mr. Andrews, fifty per cent. of perverts showed marked ability at games, and the other fifty per cent. were classed as good. Not one showed any marked dislike for games. In intellectual work, fifty-five per cent. were excellent from the point of view of scholarship, thirty-three per cent. showed average ability, and eleven per cent. failed to keep up to the required standard. In after life, none had gone to the asylum, but eighty-three per cent. were leading average lives, and seventeen per cent. were living in a conspicuously wasteful and uncertain manner. Hence perversion seems to lead to mediocrity rather than disaster.

Mr. Andrews then outlines what he calls the rational method of dealing with the question. It is based on the principle that a healthy adolescent is a rational being. Its three main principles are: (I) that the choice of work and play should be left, as far as possible, to the adolescent himself, and that a much wider range of study

than that in vogue at present should be allowed. I presume that what are called "vocational subjects" would be included; (2) full, honest and open teaching on all matters concerning sex, and (3) the teaching of civic life and social ideals. It will be seen that these are some of the very principles upon which real education itself is based.

If we are to prevent the exploring spirit from following a forbidden track, we must allow a freedom of play and study which will afford an equal amount of excitement and display of personal feeling as most immoral practices. We must foster a spirit of growing importance, a glory in power of physical activity, and a delight in the ability to investigate.

With regard to sexual instruction, we must realise the fact that if the adolescent is to make use of his reasoning faculties, he must be in possession of the facts of life. The question is naturally one of great interest, and should not be made one of mysterious temptation.

It is only when parents neglect their obvious duty that it becomes the business of the teacher to take their place. This is especially true in the pre-pubertal stage. Afterwards a teacher may continue the work, but so much depends upon the manner in which the instruction is given that it is essential that special training should be

given to the teacher in this subject. We cannot get away from the fact that the personality of the teacher is bound to have an immense influence upon the pupil, and this is an argument in favour of a system wherein the instruction in matters of sex should be given by teachers who are engaged in no other work, or by medical men. But against this system it may be urged that the subject is treated as something out of the ordinary, and given an apparently exaggerated importance, which should not be apparent to the child. But in any case, the teacher must be imbued with a full sense of his responsibility in the matter, and approach the subject with the utmost delicacy. The instruction should be given in a manner calculated to arouse a normal interest and nothing more, and this can best be done by beginning with the awakening of an interest in Nature and her methods, rather than by arousing a sense of morbid curiosity. The education in sexual matters should begin before the emotions can be aroused. The child should be taught that all life comes from a previous life, reaching mankind last of all. The main object is to show the naturalness of sex. In this way the mind is not encouraged to dwell upon the subject. It should be treated more as a matter of hygiene. Nothing repulsive or horrible should be dwelt upon with adolescents, but the ques-

tions of social disease and the social evil should be the final limit of the instruction in matters of sex when the adolescent has become a young man or woman. It is as necessary for women as for men, perhaps more so, for women are the greatest sufferers, and, consequently, need the most protection.

That branch of instruction in sex which deals with Eugenics is one of its most valuable forms, for sex is treated more or less incidentally. It also assists in the provision of ideals, and helps us to make the child realise what he is seeking to realise all the while, his importance and his responsibilities as an individual. Instruction of this kind should aim at making the adolescent recognise the sacredness of the reproductive function, and the position he holds as a responsible link between past generations and the future. Thus, instead of a merely negative instruction, this teaching of the principles of Eugenics is particularly valuable, for it supplies a very strong motive for keeping straight. When the child realises that one of his chief purposes in life is the transmittal of life, and that the character of future generations depends very largely upon himself purely as an individual, it will be much more easy for him to recognise the necessity incumbent upon him of doing all in his power to add strength rather than weakness to the germ

plasm within him which he must hand on in his turn to thousands of descendants.

We come now to the question of the co-education of the sexes. It is generally supposed to be hedged around with difficulties, but genuine difficulties are a little hard to discover. Men and women live together, work together and play together in after life, and it is difficult to imagine how complete separation in school years can be particularly beneficial. To herd boys and girls together separately is abnormal. It is true that frequently savage races have a system of separating the sexes at the age of puberty, but we are not savages. It is absurd to say that the co-education of the sexes does away with that respect which one sex should feel for the other. Quite the contrary has proved to be the case in those schools where the experiment has been tried. I do not suggest that boys and girls should do the same work; that would be an impossibility if vocational training is to be provided, but so far as those subjects which are common to both are concerned, it would be an unqualified advantage for boys and girls to take them together. It is always found that where co-education prevails, there is an absence of obscenity, and of that roughness which characterises, unfortunately, only too often, the schools in which the sexes are educated separately. The

boys are found to exercise a strengthening and settling influence upon the girls, and the girls a refining influence upon the boys. A great many dangers are avoided. If we admit the theory that the school should conform as far as possible to the conditions of after life, co-education follows as a matter of course. Those countries, such as France and Germany, where there is no co-education of the sexes, seem to be moving in that direction. The difficulty of giving vocational training to boys and girls in the same school constitutes the only real problem, and that does not seem to be insuperable.

On the other hand, the advantages of co-education, provided no artificial barriers are erected between the sexes, would seem greatly to outweigh the disadvantages. As in most aspects of education, the difficulties which do exist can readily be adjusted with the aid of a little common sense.

CHAPTER X

THE TEACHER

TEACHING is not merely a profession, but a vocation, and one of the greatest vocations that the world can offer. For what is the function of the teacher? He has to watch over and direct the formation and the development of the world of to-morrow. The future depends upon him, and upon the use he makes of his opportunities. He holds in his hands the destinies of the race. We have gradually come to realise the enormous importance of education, and with that realisation has come a sense of the importance of the teacher. What has the teacher ever done to show that he, too, appreciates the responsibilities which fall upon him? In the whole history of education in this country, since the teacher has become a public servant, in the sense that he receives a portion of his emoluments from the State, directly or indirectly, I do not know of one attempt at increasing educational efficiency that has ever come from the teachers as a body. They formed the National Union of Teachers,

but although this body professes to be concerned with the efficiency of education, it only shows signs of life when the status and position of the individual teacher are concerned. Hence the agitation for smaller classes, for superannuation, for larger salaries. I am quite well aware that all these things make indirectly for greater efficiency, but the fact that the National Union spends a great deal of its funds and its energies upon keeping incompetent teachers, or teachers of at least doubtful efficiency, in their places, seems to indicate that the teacher is the first consideration and the school the second. I have no quarrel with the National Union of Teachers except on this one ground. It is in itself an admirable example of efficiency, and it has done much toward the formation of *esprit de corps* among teachers. It has also done a great deal of good work in defending its members against the arbitrary and unreasonable demands of the various school authorities. But I think that it does an incalculable amount of harm by considering the good of the individual teacher above that of education. What is the attitude of the elementary school teacher of to-day toward his profession? He was thrown into it headlong at the outset. He comes almost without exception from what may be called the lowest section of the lower middle classes. This

is not by any means a fact in his disfavour, but it is significant. He is himself the product of the system which he will hereafter take a part in directing and working. He is the product of the elementary school, and, except for the superficial smattering of secondary education which he receives simultaneously with what professes to be some kind of training for teaching, he receives nothing more than the elementary school has to offer him. When he has served as a student-teacher for three or four years, he passes an examination known as the Preliminary Examination for the Certificate. If he succeeds, he is immediately recognised by the Board of Education as a teacher, and there are thousands of teachers in our schools who possess this qualification and no other. They may have been unable to pass the Certificate examination itself, or they may never have tried. Until recently, they received very little encouragement to go on with their education, for uncertificated teachers are cheap, and those who were responsible for the upkeep of the schools preferred cheapness to every other quality. Now, certain of the larger towns are insisting that their uncertificated teachers shall pass the Certificate examination within a given time.

The successful candidate at the preliminary examination has the choice of going to a training

college to prepare for the Certificate, or of taking the examination as an "acting teacher." This latter course the Board of Education is now discouraging, by deciding that only college trained teachers may be eligible for headships. So we may take it for granted that the intending teacher will now endeavour to attend a training college. At the training college he receives a form of education corresponding roughly to the first two years of an university degree course. Then he comes out to teach. His mental characteristics are familiar to all who have worked in schools, for the new type of teacher, the product of the student-teacher system, is often one of the most insufferable "bounders" it is possible to imagine. To begin with, no one has troubled to discover whether he can teach or not. As a student-teacher, his experience was confined to the quasi-menial occupations of book-marking, pencil sharpening, fetching and carrying for the Head-teacher and the staff, and *occasionally* giving a lesson under the superintendence of the Head-teacher. At the training college his teaching experiments are extremely limited both in number and scope. But he is always sure that he can teach; he can always put his Head-teacher in the right place. What he does not know is not worth knowing. In the whole of my own experience, I have never met a

teacher, except, of course, one of the new type, who was satisfied with the new system. The cry is that the old pupil-teachers at least learned their work; the new ones learn nothing but a smattering of liberal education.

How can such people raise the tone of the elementary school? Their capacity is limited; they have no ideals. They look upon their profession as a trade, pure and simple, a mere means of making money. Very often they have entered it at the expense of great sacrifices on the part of their parents, who wished to give them a "rise in life." Then, with all their ignorance of the real science of education, they set to work to reproduce their own personality, their own failings, their narrowness of outlook in the unfortunate children who will pass through their hands in the course of years. They rule, a combination of autocrat and machine, stamping out the "average child," suppressing, repressing, oppressing, depressing, impressing—anything in the world but expressing. Some of our schools are crying scandals, a disgrace and a menace to the greatest nation of the earth. I have given my own experiences elsewhere,¹ and although I have been told by some who read them that my experience must have been particularly unfortunate,

¹ "The Case for Educational Reform," in *The Outlook*, April 21 to May 17, 1913.

I have been told by others actually in the schools that I have not overstated the case in the slightest degree. There are thousands of teachers who realise the rottenness in the schools, and who make efforts to improve matters, but very often indeed their attempts are brought to nothing by sheer weight of force on the opposite side. So it is that the best results have been obtained in the country where a good teacher finds herself—for the best teachers are usually women—more or less alone and free.

Without a very radical change in the type of the teaching profession, we can do nothing in the schools. We can do little to alter the existing teacher, so that all our efforts must be exerted towards the next generation of teachers. We must begin with the infant schools. At present, although little children differ so much from older children, the infant teacher is trained in exactly the same way as the teacher for older classes. This is a fault which surely may easily be remedied.

Some effort should be made to recruit the teaching profession from every class instead of confining it to the lower classes. There must have been something very wrong when teaching in an elementary or any other school came to be considered as an occupation beneath anyone's dignity. There is nothing more noble. There should be a system by which, after a full and

complete liberal education, those who wished to enter the teaching profession might receive the vocational part of their training. In every case, no teacher should be given full recognition until he has proved his worth. This might prove a hardship at the beginning, in individual cases, but because one person has mistaken his vocation, there is no reason why thousands of children should be unfitted for theirs. Why should it be more difficult to train a good teacher than a good doctor, or a good lawyer, and why should a poor teacher be sedulously preserved in office, when the cost is so great? We do too much for our teachers: we pay the cost of their student-teacher period; we pay the cost of their training, and the result is that the people look upon teaching as a profession which is too cheap, and pass it by. Although we do so much to make the profession cheap, there is always a scarcity of teachers, and I believe its very cheapness to be the reason. It would be much wiser to put teaching in elementary schools on a level with teaching in secondary schools, and to insist upon the same mode of training for both. The teacher in the elementary school needs just as much training as his colleague in the secondary school, neither more nor less, but with certain differences. The teacher in a secondary school has to pay the cost of his own training, yet there is no

such scarcity of teachers in secondary schools. A system of scholarships might enable a poor but clever child to receive his training without expense to himself, just in the same way that exhibitions and scholarships provide university training for thousands of young men, but incompetent persons should not be allowed to think that whatever happens they can still become teachers.

It seems probable that there will be no such thing as a training college as an isolated institution in the future. Such a system only makes for a continuance of that narrowness of outlook which so strongly characterises the teacher of to-day. There are already university training colleges, and there can be no doubt that they produce the best men. The training college of the future will be parallel with the medical school of the university. Moreover, instead of devoting itself, as it does at present, to filling up the gaps in the student's own education, it will provide real "training" in teaching, which the present training college does not and cannot provide. This training will be both theoretical and practical, the latter part consisting of actual teaching and the observation of both children and teacher in a really good school. This is just as important as the actual teaching. A young medical student does not venture to operate him-

self until he has seen many operations performed by the most skilled hands. So it should be with the teacher. And this practical work in teaching should continue all through the period of training, concurrently with the theoretical work. This should consist of the discussion of new methods and new ideas, and of the study of the sciences connected with education which I have mentioned before. It is essential that all the subject-matter should be vitalised and its application shown. A later period might well be given, especially in the case of promising students, to a tour of investigation into foreign school systems and methods. Nothing is more desirable than a greater internationalism in matters of education. After this would come the period of probation, and it should be of variable length in order that those students who are slow in showing signs of their vocation may have more time allowed them than the others. But long before this stage is reached the majority of misfits will have dropped out.

The school of the future will never be understaffed. It is absolutely impossible for the best of teachers to do either his children or himself justice, with a class of more than forty children. That should be made the maximum. The reasons are so obvious that there is no need to discuss them.

With regard to salaries, there is no doubt that much greater expenditure will be necessary than is the case at present. A good man is worth a good salary, but a poor man is not worth a salary at all. If teaching is to be considered a profession—and it must be—it should be paid as the professions are. One scale of salaries must be made operative throughout the country, making allowance for expenses according to the cost of living prevalent in the district, for obviously it costs more to live in London than in the middle of Wales. But apart from this allowance for the variation in living expenses, the salaries should be the same. Men would not be human if they did not take the best salaries offered them, especially if they have a family to maintain, and in such a case the best teachers would all tend to go to one part of the country where the salaries were highest, while the poorer teachers would go to the lower salaried districts. This would not be fair to the children. Following the question of salaries comes that of retiring allowances. The system in vogue in the Civil Service would be much more reasonable and fair than that which prevails at present.

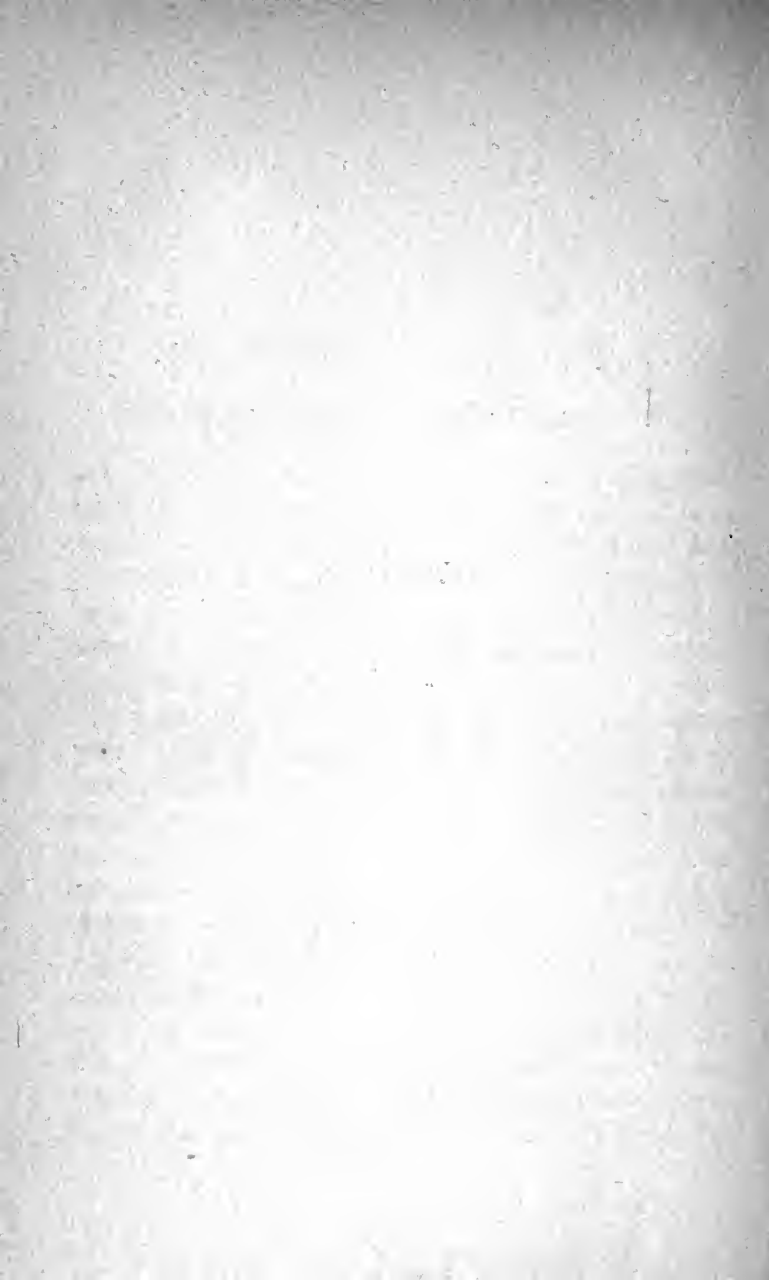
There is one other important subject. If teachers are to continue to be efficient after leaving their training, they must remain in touch with the advances made in educational science.

I have placed in the Appendix a scheme for the formation of a British Institute of Educational Science, which seems as though it might serve this purpose amongst others. I shall be very glad to hear the opinions and suggestions of any who may be interested in the matter, if they will communicate with me through the publishers of this volume.

There should be much more confidence and discussion among the members of a school staff. It would often be much better for the head of a school to consult his colleagues upon the policy of the school and the manner of its carrying into execution. I have sometimes wondered if it would not be possible to attempt, as an experiment, the government of a school by a committee consisting of all the teachers and some of the children, with an elected head. If a country can be managed upon such a principle, it seems not impossible that a school community might also be tried. It would, of course, need certain safeguards, but these would only correspond to the Constitution. A school is not, and should never be, a "one man show." No Head-teacher can ever come into full personal touch with his children. Whatever is done in the matter, it is certain that more voice in the management of the schools should be allowed to the assistants than is the case at present.

The whole question of schools and teachers is one for the general public. It constitutes the most pressing problem of the day. In the space at my disposal I have only been able to touch upon some of the chief dangers and difficulties that present themselves. Education can never cease to be a problem, for as the world changes, as fresh needs and fresh knowledge are acquired, so the school must ever be at work upon its great task of helping the individual to adapt himself to his environment. The responsibility that rests upon the present generation is very great. We have fallen behind in our work: we have not kept pace with the times. If something is not done at once, we shall never be able to recover the lost ground. Nothing less than the future of Britain depends upon the apathy or the awakening of the public of to-day. The problem of education is a problem of to-morrow, for it is concerned with the generation of to-morrow, but it is none the less a problem of to-day, the greatest problem of to-day, for we are now at the cross roads which offer us the alternative of continued existence or of decadence and extinction. There are many signs of awakening. May they be the foreshadowing of the greatest revolution the world has ever seen,

APPENDIX



(A)

THE LITTLE COMMONWEALTH

AN EXPERIMENT IN SELF-GOVERNMENT

ONE of the most extraordinary results of the apathy of professional educationists is that nearly all the genuine improvements in Education come from outside. Signora Montessori was not a teacher but a scientist, and she became an educational reformer, not through any experience in schools for ordinary children, but in an institution for the feeble-minded and abnormal. So, in the Little Commonwealth, which has been established for the rehabilitation of young law-breakers, teachers may find a greater and more significant example of the way in which our schools should be organised, than in any school in England. I have spoken elsewhere (pp. 225-7) of the possibility and the advantages of self-government in schools: here in the Little Commonwealth we find an abnormal community gradually bringing itself back to the normal; children whom our reformatory system would inevitably have made lifelong criminals,

reforming themselves and laying a sound foundation for the future.

We owe the Little Commonwealth to the energies of Mr. George Montagu, a nephew of the Earl of Sandwich. Mr. Montagu has made a study of the methods of child reformation in England and America. He went to the United States especially to see the working of the George Junior Republics which have created such a sensation throughout the world, and came back decided to start something of the kind himself. There has never been a more obvious need for some means of coping with the great problem of juvenile criminality. Those of us who have realised the utter bankruptcy of our educational system, are not surprised that with the increase of so-called educational facilities, there has been a corresponding increase in juvenile criminality. The State has realised the position and has endeavoured to meet it in various ways. The First Offenders Act, the system of probation under the guardianship of government officials, and the Borstal system, are all intended for this purpose, but in many cases they are applied too late to be of much use. There are also the Reformatories, the last stronghold of the disciplinary method of dealing with young people. Let us consider the Reformatories for a moment. In outward appearance they resemble

a gaol more than anything else. When the inmates of a Reformatory appear in public, they are marched to and fro like batches of convicts. Corporal punishment is still their great means of coercion. In these prisons, boys of all ages, differing very widely indeed in temperament and general capacity, guilty of almost every kind of misdemeanour, many with innate tendencies of the worst possible type, are herded together that they may be reformed. They are to be reformed *en masse*, willy nilly. Could anything be more absurdly improbable? The strictest discipline, as the heads of these institutions know very well, is not able to prevent the gravest evils. As soon as the discipline is removed, sometimes even in spite of it, the children break out and do a considerable amount of damage. A little while ago, in such a school in Ireland, a teacher was murdered by some of his boys. Everything tends to make the inmates sullen, rebellious, actually wicked. The superintendents may be humane and well-intentioned; they cannot go behind the approved, official system. The Reformatories teach the boy a trade, but they do not teach him to be a good workman; they prescribe honesty, but they do not teach him to be honest. In other words, they fail in their purpose.

It was in America, the land of educational

experiments, both good and bad, that the first steps were taken towards improved methods of dealing with young offenders. Some years ago a Mr. George founded the first Junior Republic, where children who have been convicted of a crime, or who come from criminal surroundings, are encouraged to reform themselves rather than to be reformed. The Junior Republics are based upon the principle that education of every kind is best secured through experience. Consequently, Mr. George allows his subjects a limited amount of self-government. They make their own laws and choose their own officials. So far, the experiment has proved a success, and Junior Republics are being formed all over America. But even Mr. George seems to have been afraid to allow his principles to run to their logical conclusion. He seems also to have relied too greatly upon the fear of punishment. The gaol is one of the most prominent features of his establishments, and I am told, a very large proportion of the community is always to be found there. I need not describe the George Junior Republics more fully, for all the good features that are to be found in them, and none of the bad ones, are to be found also in the Little Commonwealth.

When Mr. Montagu returned from America with the intention of starting a kind of George

Junior Republic here, he found it necessary to form a committee, to raise funds, to secure a site, and to find a man capable of directing such a work. He has succeeded admirably in all these directions. The committee is composed of some of the greatest educationists and philanthropists in the country ; money has been forthcoming without difficulty ; Lord Sandwich provided a farm near Batcombe on his estate in Dorsetshire, and by some good fortune the services of Mr. Homer Lane were secured. It would be difficult to over-estimate Mr. Lane's qualifications for the work. He has been the head of a Junior Republic at Freeville in America, a schoolmaster, a prospector, a " brave " and an engineer. There does not seem to be much that he has not been, or much that he cannot do. Withal he is one of the most unassuming of men, though there is a suggestion of strength about him which it is impossible to escape. And he is the very antithesis of the average schoolmaster. His capacity for sympathy, his thorough understanding of human nature, and his wonderful patience are the main causes of his success. At the time of my visit, there were eight boys and eight girls at the Little Commonwealth. These children had all fallen into the hands of the police for some offence against the law. Some of them were considered almost irreform-

able, and one of the boys, although only fifteen years old, had already spent some time in prison.

The Little Commonwealth itself is a small farmhouse. It has been left externally very much as it was. Each of the boys has a room to himself, and bathrooms have been added. Mr. Lane has one room which serves as a bedroom, an office, a reception room and a committee room. At the back of the house, the farmyard has been converted into a concrete court, while the farm-buildings surrounding it are being made into workshops, a laundry, and rooms available for other purposes. Two more cottages were just being completed at the time of my visit, one of which will hold fifteen children, and the the other twenty. It is proposed to build more cottages from time to time according to the money at the disposal of the Committee.

The cottages are built in such a way that though the sleeping apartments of the boys and girls are on the same floor, there is no direct communication between them. Each cottage is under the direction of a "House-mother" who acts, not as a matron, but as a kind of house-keeper to the community.

In July, 1913, Mr. Lane entered upon his work. He found himself faced by sixteen children, nearly all of whom were considered absolutely unmanageable. Some of them he himself had

to bring direct from the police-court. They looked, and no doubt felt, disreputable. During the whole of their lives, they had been perpetually at some one's beck and call; their conduct had been regulated by threats of punishment on the one hand, and promises of reward on the other. As we may well imagine, when they found themselves perfectly free to do what they wished, they were completely bewildered. They had no comprehension of social morality or of such a thing as duty to society. They were in fact very fair specimens of the type of savage, not immoral but amoral—which the present day, with its enlightened methods, produces. There are hundreds of thousands of such children of varying degrees of savagery in the country to-day.

We cannot wonder that these children were bewildered. Their very surroundings were completely new. They were in the heart of the country, with no smoke, no grime, no slums, no public-houses and no tobacco shops. They could not break rules, for there were no rules to break; they could not enjoy the excitement of rebellion, for there was no one against whom they could rebel. Their active minds must have revelled in the thought that they had fallen into the hands of some foolish and cranky philanthropist. When their bewilderment had passed, disorder

came. This was exactly what Mr. Lane most desired. He did not shut the doors and windows, or deliver a touching harangue upon sin and human frailty. He simply waited for an opportunity of making the children give themselves an object lesson. To begin with, it was necessary to point out that the supply of food would soon come to an end if there were no money forthcoming to pay for it. There was still a good deal of work to be done in connection with the farm and outbuildings, and after consultation with the House-mother, who promised to board each citizen for eleven shillings a week, Mr. Lane agreed to engage workmen at the rate of threepence an hour. This was a great deal more than they were worth, for they had never been accustomed to work, and their attitude thereto was well exemplified by the citizen who after a little while was heard to say, "I'd like to get hold of the man who first invented work." Soon, some of them without formally going on strike, decided that there were other more enjoyable occupations and gave up the work. Others worked intermittently at such occupations as looking after the horses, bringing stone to make a road, pumping up the water from a little spring, building a wall, and as general labourers. Mr. Lane and his male assistants worked with the boys, and the girls worked in the

kitchen. All were paid the same rate in the tin coinage of the Commonwealth, and were charged the same amount for their board.

Then Mr. Lane discovered that some of the boys were in the habit of visiting one another's rooms at night, and this gave him an opening for the first of his object lessons. He called the citizens together and said that the Committee had decided to build cottages to hold more children, but that if they preferred to sleep two in a bed, this would hardly be necessary, and much expense might be saved. Then he asked them to say what they thought about the matter. All began to speak at once, and the meeting soon became a pandemonium. Finally some one suggested that they should have a chairman, and one was elected. His duties on this occasion consisted chiefly in separating combatants, and trying to secure the rudiments of order, but in the end the meeting decided that the custom of sleeping two in a bed was not desirable, and that it should come to an end. It *did* come to an end *automatically*.

In the same indirect way, the manners of the children have gradually been undergoing improvement. When they first came, they fed like the savages they were. One boy especially, used to answer with a curse when he was asked to pass something. At the present time it would be

impossible to find a more attentive set of hosts anywhere. Each table is in the charge of one of the citizens, and she watches with an unfailing attention for any breach of the proprieties. All this has come about without the least shadow of compulsion. No distinction is made when visitors are present. I was rather afraid that the attentions of a number of visitors would tend to spoil the members of such a small community, but my fears were removed when I found that visitors were the chief source of amusement. The girls especially find that visitors afford them an admirable opportunity for the development of their pantomimic powers. Fortunately they wait until the visitors have departed.

But amongst the most interesting features of the Little Commonwealth are the Court and Legislative Meetings which had their rise in the pandemonium of which I have already spoken. Legislative Meetings are held once a week for the purpose of discussing the rules and regulations which the community thinks fit to make for itself. Unwritten rules are preferred to written laws, because they seem to represent more truly the actual sense of the community. The written regulations deal mostly with trivial matters. Here are some which I copied from the Court Book.

“Girls are not to talk to boys during work.”

“Citizens must not play the piano during work hours.”

"No citizens allowed to leave the Little Commonwealth on a pleasure journey without leaving word at home or signing the slate."

"All boy citizens have to keep their own room and landing clean."

"Boys' rooms that are not clean when inspected will lose a day's work and be fined 6d."

"No citizens allowed to go out of bounds that are in debt, except without special permission."

"Citizens are to go without breakfast on occasion of not washing."

The Courts themselves are more interesting. Every citizen who discovers a breach of the rules or sees anything which is contrary to the welfare of the community is bound to make a written complaint, sign it, and bring it before the Court. The citizens sit round the court room in a semi-circle, while the Judge and her clerk have a table facing them.¹

The complaints are read out, the defendant stands up, and witnesses are called. The judge examines both witnesses and defendant, decides the verdict and appoints the penalty. As there is no prison, the penalties consist in bonds to keep the law, in fines, and orders to keep within certain bounds. If any of the parties concerned become disrespectful, the Judge fines them for contempt of court. She is no respecter of

¹ At the time of my visit, the Judge was a girl. She had taken the place of an excellent boy judge who resigned of his own accord because he had himself been guilty of a serious breach of the laws.

persons. When the Archbishop of York was present at one of the Court Meetings and made some remark to Mr. Lane, there came a judicial rebuke to the effect that those who were not silent would be asked to leave the room.

I hope I shall not be betraying any State secrets, if I quote some of the Court Records. I must first explain that the name of the defendant precedes the actual complaint, which is followed by the complainant's name and the result of the case.

"Mr. H. for chipping and passing remarks about the food we eat on his table, 5s. to pay if he does it again."

"O. unladylike conduct, walking with arm round a boy.—L. Dismissed."

"Mr. L. for having a ole in his sock, S.S.—H. S. got to mend it."

"Mr. J. for using a stick on my poor behind against the rules of the Commonwealth.—C. G. Put over till Mr. J. is here."

"Mr. L. is a rise-taker. He ought to take rises out of himself before any one else.—M. J. Dismissed."

"J. B'O. for wanting the 5th course of pudding.—R.B. Penalty."

"S. T. for not pumping water and leaves us every morning without a wash.—E. D. Dismissed."

"C. Bate for tea in consequence of which 'Grace' was a quiet ceremony.—Mrs. J. Has to be late at every meal."

"Citizens for allowing a boy who is not capable to be the Judge.—H. S. Put over till Wednesday's meeting."

Occasionally, as appears from my extracts, the wags of the community enliven the proceeding by bogus complaints, but nevertheless the

Courts are conducted in a way that would be a credit to the King's Bench, while the common sense which is displayed by the citizens would seem extraordinary to many people. It is necessary to lay stress upon the fact that the activities of the community are entirely self-suggested. Mr. Lane and the other adults stand on exactly the same footing as other members of the community. The grown-ups are occasionally punished, and they have only one voice and one vote, while Mr. Lane himself has no power of veto except where the property of the Committee is concerned. But Mr. Lane's influence is brought to bear in other and indirect ways. One Sunday evening I sat in his room, and we were invaded by four or five homesick girls. After seeing the way in which he dealt with them I could not be surprised that the Little Commonwealth is such a success. His patience, sympathy and, perhaps, too, his freedom from unhealthy sentiment, are absolutely inexhaustible.

The community does not meet its difficulties half-way. It learns by the mistakes it makes, and though the mistakes are many, the lessons are usually very well learned. Every new rule, every new activity is in direct response to some demand of the citizens. One of the legislative meetings decided that a tax should be levied to pay for the upkeep of those citizens who either

through disinclination or incapacity were not able to pay for themselves. It was not long before the cost of board and the tax together amounted to more than the citizens could pay. Hence it became necessary to devise some new means of dealing with the problem of the idlers. Again, though at the time of my visit nearly all the boys were placed "on bounds," hardly any had observed them. Mr. Lane refused to engage these boys when the time came for selecting his men at the beginning of the week. Thus there would be more money to be made up by the working members of the community, and the difficulty would become still more acute. But the object of the manœuvre was clear enough. The citizens who did work already objected to keeping the others, and since the amount of money for upkeep was not forthcoming, the rations of the community would have to be curtailed. Then pressure would be put upon the slackers, and public opinion, perhaps with the help of a little brute force, would compel them to work for their own living.

At present the community is not self-supporting, but it is intended to teach the children a trade so that in course of time it may become so, at least partially. Even at present the progress made by the children is astounding.

As I have said at the beginning of this chapter,

the most important educational reforms have always come from outside the schools. Here in the Little Commonwealth we have another example of this truth. If in the case of such unpromising material, external discipline can be dispensed with so completely, it is obvious that under normal conditions its abolition would be attended by still more striking success. The moral afforded by the Little Commonwealth is obvious. The sooner an attempt can be made to put its principles into execution in elementary and secondary schools, the sooner shall we approach the educational millenium. There is no reason why every school in the country should not adopt them, at least in part.

(B)

BINET'S TESTS OF NORMALITY IN INTELLIGENCE

At three years of age

An ability to—

- (1) Touch the nose, eyes, mouth, and pictures of these when requested.
- (2) Repeat two numerals.
- (3) Repeat easy sentences of six syllables without any mistake.
- (4) Enumerate familiar objects in a picture.
- (5) Give surname.

At four years

- (6) Know his own sex.
- (7) Name a key, a penny, a knife.
- (8) Repeat three numerals in order after hearing them once.
- (9) Tell which is the longer of lines differing by a quarter of an inch.

At five years

- (10) Distinguish between weights of three and thirteen grammes, six and fifteen, etc.
- (11) Draw a square which can be recognised as such from a copy.
- (12) Rearrange a rectangular card which has been cut across the diagonals to form triangles.
- (13) Count four pennies.

At six years

- (14) Show right and left ears when requested.
- (15) Repeat an easy sentence of sixteen syllables.
- (16) Distinguish what is distinctly ugly from what is distinctly pretty in a picture.
- (17) Define in terms of use a fork, table, chair, horse, mother, at least three of them recognisably.
- (18) Perform three commissions, given simultaneously.
- (19) Know own age.
- (20) Know whether it is morning or afternoon.

At seven years

- (21) Note the omission of eyes, nose, mouth or arms from as many portraits.
- (22) State the number of fingers on right hand, left hand, and both hands without counting.
- (23) Copy in such a way that it is recognisable a written phrase with the pen.
- (24) Draw a recognisable diamond from a copy.
- (25) Repeat five numerals in order, pronounced at intervals of half a second.
- (26) Describe a picture.
- (27) Count thirteen pennies.
- (28) Name a penny, a sixpence, a shilling and a sovereign.

At eight years

- (29) After reading seven lines about a fire, to be able to reproduce at least two facts correctly.
- (30) Count the values of six stamps, three ones and three twos in less than fifteen seconds.
- (31) Name yellow, blue, green and red.
- (32) Count backwards without more than one mistake from 20 to 0 in twenty seconds.
- (33) Write legibly a piece of easy dictation.
- (34) State the differences between paper and cloth, butterfly and fly, wood and glass, at least two satisfactorily in two minutes.

At nine years

- (35) Name the day and the date, allowing an error of three days in the month.
- (36) Name the days of the week in order in ten seconds.
- (37) Give the right change from a shilling paid for something costing twopence.
- (38) Reproduce six facts from seven lines after reading once.
- (39) Define in terms superior to statement of use the articles mentioned in No. 17.
- (40) Arrange in order of weight, boxes of the same size and shape, weighing respectively 6, 9, 12, 15, and 18 grammes, in three minutes. Three trials allowed of which two should be successful.

At ten years

- (41) Name the months in order, allowing one omission or inversion in fifteen seconds.
- (42) Name 1d, 6d., 1s., 2s., 2s. 6d., 5s., 10s., £1, in forty seconds.
- (43) Use three given words in not more than two sentences.
- (44) Tell what one should do if one misses train, if accidentally struck by a schoolfellow, or if one breaks an object belonging to another (two out of the three satisfactorily).
- (45) Tell what one should do if late for school, or before setting about any important business, and why we should judge rather by what people do than by what they say. Two other questions may be asked.

At eleven years

- (46) Discover incongruities in three out of five statements in about two minutes.
- (47) Use three given words in one sentence.
- (48) Name at least six words in three minutes.
- (49) Define charity, justice, goodness, two of them satisfactorily.

- (50) Rearrange the disarranged words of three eight-word sentences, at least two satisfactorily, allowing one minute for each.

At twelve years

- (51) Repeat seven numerals in order after hearing them once.
(52) Name three words that rhyme with "obey" in one minute.
(53) Repeat without any error a sentence of twenty-six syllables.
(54) Infer a fact from given circumstances indicating it.

At thirteen years

- (55) To picture and to draw the result of cutting a triangle from the side of a twice-folded paper.
(56) Picture mentally and draw the new form produced when transposed pieces of a diagonally bisected visiting card are joined.
(57) Distinguish between abstract terms of similar sound or meaning.

NOTE.—Such tests as these, if used sensibly, combined with a series of tests for the power of motor co-ordination, would serve as a much better basis for classification than the present system of classification by age.

(C)

A FORM OF DOSSIER FOR INDIVIDUAL CHILD
STUDY.¹

Name of Child.....*Sex*.....

Grade*Age*.....

ATTENDANCE, regular, irregular ?

HEALTH, good, poor ?

HOME CONDITIONS, good, poor ?

MUSCULAR STRENGTH, good, poor ?

Is child tall or short for his age, stout or slender, fleshy or thin, good-looking or plain, well-formed or poorly formed ?

CHARACTER

Is the child good-natured, agreeable, well-disposed, contented ?

Too good-natured, over-social, ill-natured, ill-disposed ?

Generous, selfish, obliging, disobliging ?

Disagreeable, sensitive, revengeful, jealous, complaining ?

Affectionate, sympathetic, lacking in affection, cruel, a tease, a bully, over-affectionate ?

Obedient, disobedient, balky, wilful, "tough," over-docile ?

Honest, frank, truthful, trustworthy, self-respecting, dishonest, sly, untruthful, without self-respect, mischievous, over-conscientious ?

¹ From "An Outline of Individual Study," G. E. Partridge, Ph.D., New York, 1910.

Modest, confident, conceited, bold, proud, bragging, timid, bashful, babyish, self-depreciating?

Earnest, ambitious, serious, cheerful, frivolous, funny, over-talkative, a giggler, sad, over-anxious?

Energetic, calm, self-controlled, quiet, nervous, excitable, emotional, lacking in self-control, restless, lifeless, lacking in energy?

Refined, coarse, neat, untidy, over-fastidious, polite, impolite?

MENTAL WORK

Is the child industrious, lazy, patient, impatient, persistent, easily discouraged, attentive, inattentive, intense, listless?

Quick, accurate, thoughtful, careful, slow, inaccurate, thoughtless, careless? Original, a memorizer, retentive, forgetful?

MANUAL WORK

Is the child accurate, skilful, quick, neat, quiet, careful, inaccurate, awkward, slow, untidy, noisy, careless. Are the child's larger movements, as in walking, quick, graceful, slow, awkward?

CLASS STANDING

ARITHMETIC—good, poor? LANGUAGE—good, poor?

NATURE STUDY, good, poor? HISTORY, good, poor?

MUSIC, good, poor? DRAWING, good, poor?

GEOGRAPHY, good, poor? READING, good, poor?

PLAY

Is the child rough, active, quiet, retiring, listless?

Describe in detail any marked peculiarity of the child, any unusual ability or disability, mental or physical. Specify any bad habit. Remark upon anything else of interest in regard to the child.

Date..... *Teacher*.....

Dr. Partridge suggests that the teacher should underline in this form any of the characteristics he notices in the child.

I put it forward merely as a suggestion. Such a system of child-study requires very careful safeguarding lest it should degenerate into a mere work of routine, and partake of all its abominations.

(D)

SCHEME FOR A BRITISH INSTITUTE OF EDUCATIONAL SCIENCE AND CHILD WELFARE.¹

Perhaps, in the whole history of the world, there has been no phenomenon more striking or more worthy of close examination than the rise of the Japanese nation from the position of an unimportant oriental state to that of a Great Power in less than half a century. When we consider the evolution of the educational system of Japan, which dates from the fifth year of Meiji (1872), we may well set ourselves to discover the predominant factors which have been instrumental in its success.

One of the chief, perhaps, is the extraordinary interest in the education of the children of the nation which the people themselves have taken, but another, perhaps not less important, is the extent to which the teachers have consistently striven towards improvement. One manifestation of this interest, common to parents and teachers alike, showed itself even so early as 1876 in the formation of the first Kyoiku-Kai, or educational society. These societies now number some hundreds, and exist practically, throughout Japan. "The members are school teachers, government officials in charge of school business, and other persons interested in education. . . . The operations undertaken vary more or less with different societies, but generally speaking they are as follows :—

(1) Studying and deliberating upon all questions relating to education.

¹ I have thought it advisable to give this scheme in the exact form in which I prepared it.

(2) Answering inquiries made by government authorities in relation to education.

(3) Holding Koshu-kai (lecture classes) to aid teachers in acquiring necessary knowledge, or to give preparatory training to those intending to become teachers.

(4) Holding lecture meetings for the benefit of the general public.

(5) Establishing libraries and keeping books in circulation.

(6) Publishing journals as the organs of the society.

(7) Opening educational exhibitions and giving magic-lantern displays.

(8) Conferring honour upon persons of educational merit.

(9) Doing posthumous honour to the work of bygone sages.

(10) Commending the worthy deeds of dutiful children and heroic women.

(11) Giving aid to needy young men for their school expenses and bringing up poor infants, etc.

The Kyoiku-Kai is thus, on the one hand, an instrument for the promotion of educational discussion and study, by helping in the improvement of teaching and training, by arousing a spirit of public opinion among the people, by stimulating the efforts of those responsible for education, and by promoting the public morals of the locality; while on the other hand it is the most effective organ of popular education." (Report on Education, Tokyo, 1909).

I have quoted this report at some length in order to show what another nation, perhaps with less need of a perfect system of Education than our own, is doing and has been doing for the past thirty-five years. No doubt some of the objects of these Kyoiku-Kai do not exist in our own country, but we have more urgent needs of our own.

Who can say that our elementary school teachers as a whole are too cultured? Who can say that they show any overpowering anxiety to keep themselves abreast of modern movements in educational theory due to our increased knowledge of the sciences of biology, psychology and anthropology? With the exception of a comparative few, they insist upon believing that all is well, whereas the absolute contrary is the case.

Moreover, they have no opportunity of conversion. No educational societies of the Japanese type exist in this country. The great National Union of Teachers is concerned to all intents and purposes with the status of the teacher, his financial improvement, etc.

But our educational needs are so great and so pressing that something should be done, and done at once, to provide a way out from the impasse caused by the deadly apathy of some teachers and the lack of any provision for mental, intellectual and educational improvement for those others who desire it.

The interest of the nation at large is concerned in this matter. We are not keeping ahead of the world in matters of education in the way that our position as the leader of the nations would seem to impose upon us. We are rapidly falling behind. We seem to spend more and more money while the results become less and less satisfactory.

It is with the object of trying to find a way out of our educational difficulties, that I venture to suggest the formation of a British Institute of Educational Science. If the whole scheme cannot be attempted at once, there is no reason why some of it should not be taken in hand, as for example the monthly or weekly journal which could place before the teacher and others interested in the matter, the latest results of educational thought and practice. This should be done in the simplest possible manner. A great deal of valuable thought is wasted, owing to the abstruse way in which it is presented to the reader.

THE BRITISH INSTITUTE OF EDUCATIONAL SCIENCE

OBJECTS—

- (1) The Welfare and the Real Education of the child.
- (2) The elevation of the teacher's outlook to that of a professional man in place of that of a tradesman.
- (3) The formation of a Higher Ideal, together with a more noble tone in the teaching profession.

MEANS—

The collection of literature and periodicals dealing with child welfare in every form, and the rendering of this material accessible to teachers and others interested in the subject.

The scientific investigation of new theories and methods in education, and the propagation of the results obtained by means of lectures at local teachers' conferences, and through the medium of the journal published by the Institute.

A correspondence department which will be prepared to advise teachers and educationists upon all matters connected with child welfare.

The encouragement of child study, by which is meant the study of the real nature of the child in natural conditions.

The arousing of public opinion upon matters calling for urgent reform.

An attempt to form a suitable literature for children.

The co-ordination of the scientific work of experimental and genetic psychology with child welfare agencies already at work.

The supplying of data for research work and the formation of bibliographies.

The issuing of resumés of foreign works, and accounts of educational experiments, in the form of pamphlets.

The practical recognition of pioneer and other notable work in the cause of education, by the bestowal of memberships of the institute and other means, etc., etc.

WORKING SECTIONS

I. *Birth*.—Eugenics.

II. *Health and Disease*.—Hygiene, ventilation, conditions of childhood, tuberculous and infected children, nurses, midwives, milk question, medical inspection, dental clinics, etc.

III. *Subnormal Children*.—Physical and mental.

IV. *Crime*.—Statistics of delinquency, juvenile courts, institutions, applied ethics in general, the making of criminals by vicious methods of teaching.

V. *Vice*.—Sexual errors and aberrations, drunkenness among the young, and the influence of the parents' vices upon the children.

VI. *Child Linguistics*.

VII. *Anthropological and Sociological*.—Studies of growth in height, weight, mind, etc., conditions and their effect upon the child, child insurance, age of majority, etc., normal ages for various activities of childhood, study, etc., age of attendance, Age of consent, history of child welfare, etc., etc.

VIII. *Experimental Teaching*.—Investigation into the excellency of different methods, the promotion of scientific method.

IX. *Child Labour and Industrial Education*.

X. *Moral and Religious Education* (including sex).

XI. *Matters affecting Teachers*.

XII. *A Directory of Educational Experts*.

XIII. *School text-books and child literature*, an intermediary between author and publisher, advice on literary matters, etc.

XIV. *Pedagogical Museum*.—Courses of conferences.

N.B.—To a large extent I have adopted the sections of Dr. G. Stanley, Hall's Children's Institute, which has had a very great success at Clark University, U.S.A., and which

I first heard of after completing a scheme of the same nature.

I subjoin a list of the topics with which, amongst others, the Institute might deal.

Advertising.	Education of Girls.
Administration.	Education of Primitive
Ambidexterity.	Races.
Agricultural Education.	Education, Psychology of.
Arithmetic.	Educational Values.
<i>Aussage</i> .	Emotions.
Auto-intoxication.	Emulation.
Animal Pedagogy.	English.
—— Psychology.	English Education.
Academies.	English Universities.
Acquisition of Skill.	Eugenics.
Attention.	Experimental Pedagogy.
Association of Ideas.	Education and the Renas-
Articulation.	cence.
Blindness.	English Reformation.
Character.	Experience in Teaching.
Child, The (general).	Education, History of.
Child Labour.	Education in Middle Ages.
Child Linguistics.	Food and Diet.
Child Thought.	Formal Training.
Children's Lies.	Friendships.
Children's Literature.	Freud.
Children's Vocabulary.	French Education.
Children and Adults.	Froebel.
Campanella.	Germany, Education in.
Comenius.	Greece, Education in.
Co-Education.	Guilds in the Middle Ages.
College Life.	Hand, Training of.
Collections.	Hygiene.
Corporal Punishment.	Heredity and Environment.
Dancing.	Hegel.
Deafness.	Herbart.
Dreams.	Hypnotism.

Imagination.
 Imitation.
 Industrial Schools.
 Industrial Training.
 Instinct.
 Interest.
 Intelligence.
 Industry and Education.
 Japan, Education in.
 Jesuit Education.
 Keller, Helen.
 Kindergarten.
 Left-handedness.
 Locke.
 Mediæval Schools.
 Medical Inspection.
 Memory.
 Mental Deficiency.
 Memory Training.
 Mental Imagery.
 Mind and Body.
 Moral and Religious Training.
 Myths, Value of.
 Montaigne.
 Motor Expression.
 Montessori.
 Number Forms, etc.
 Nature Study.
 Nutrition and Thought.
 Neo-Humanism.
 Origin of Mental Ideas.
 — of Life.
 Play.
 Playgrounds.
 Poetry.
 Pragmatism.
 Pre-natal Conditions.

Psycho-analysis.
 Punishments.
 Pestalozzi.
 Periodical Literature.
 Pupil Self-government.
 Physical Education.
 Psychic Influences.
 Questionnaire, Value of.
 Questioning, Value of.
 Radiation.
 Reading.
 Realism.
 Recitation.
 Relativity.
 Rabelais.
 Renaissance.
 Ruskin.
 School and Home.
 School Gardens.
 Sensations.
 Sex Education.
 Sex Differences.
 Speech.
 Story Telling.
 Signs of Weak Mentality.
 — of Weak Physique.
 Suicide of Children.
 School Discipline.
 Suggestion.
 Spelling.
 Subconsciousness.
 School Codes.
 Spencer.
 Singing.
 Scotland, Education in.
 Salaries of Teachers.
 Secondary Schools.
 Temperament.

Twins.	Woman in Education.
Vocabularies.	Woman, Domestic Training of.
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Vittorino da Feltre.	Wandering Scholars.
Voluntary School System.	Writing. Etc., etc.
Volkschulen.	

This list makes no pretence of being complete, and is merely intended to show some of the directions in which such an institution as the British Institute of Educational Science might prove useful. I know that many important and interesting subjects have been omitted.

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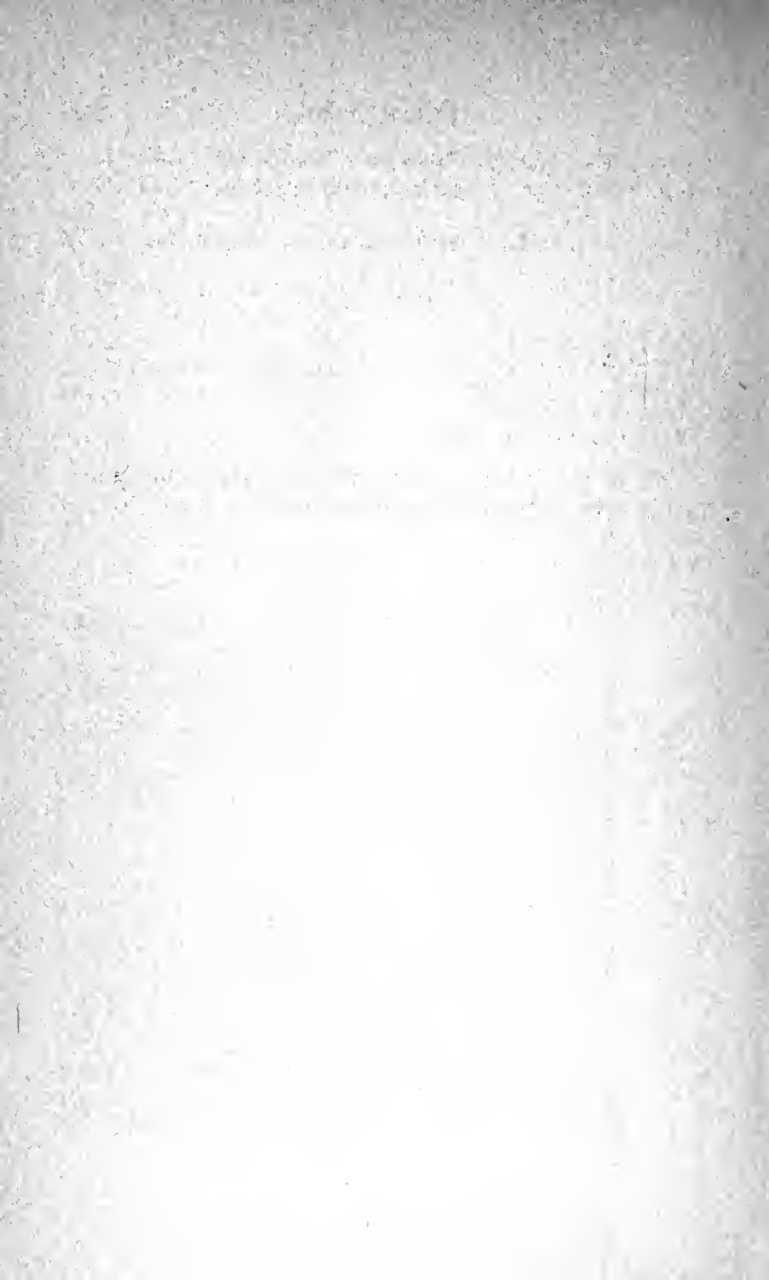
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INDEX

- Abuses in schools, 49-51, 53-64
- Adams, Prof., 121
- Adolescence, Importance and dangers of, 88-89, 238
- Aesthetic faculties in education, 201-202
- Agricultural schools, 175
- Andrews, C. B., 87, 242-245
- Attitude of the child to the school, 57, 182-183, 225
- Attitude of the teacher towards the child, 66-67
- Average child fallacy, 58
- Babies in school, 95-97
- Baths in school, 85-86
- Belgium, Vocational schools in, 169, 171
- Bennett, Arnold, 187
- Binet's tests of normality, 280-283
- Biology and education, 73-74
- Bolton, F. E., 73
- Boy Scout movement, 133, 222
- Cadbury open-air school, 96
- Chaos of education, 36-37
- Child-study, 68-71
- Classification, 76
- Co-education of the sexes, 248-249
- Commercial schools, 147, 155, 174-175
- Conditions of school life, 223
- Constructive play, 113, 198-199
- Co-operation in the management of schools, 260
- Crime and children, 266-267
- Culture epoch theory, 111-112
- Curriculum, Arrangement of, 119, 122, 130-131
- Day nurseries, 94-96
- Defects of education in England, 55-64
- Dental clinics, 83
- Dignity of teaching, 255
- Discipline, 203-229
 - The case against, 101, 222-223
- Dogmatism in education, Dangers of, 32-33
- Ecoles professionnelles*, 145-146
- Education and modern science, 65-91
 - and the small child, 92-116
 - and the adolescent, 117-137
 - out of school, 182-202
 - and sex, 230-249
 - present state of, 36-64
 - and the amusements of the people, 183-190
 - Elementary, Importance of, 38-40, 61
 - Elementary, History and organisation of, 40-46
- Educational ladder, The, 39
- "Efficient" schools, 46-48
- Emotions, Education of, 200
- Esprit de corps*, 218
- Eugenics and the sex question, 247
- Examinations, Futility of, 126-129

- Experiments in education, 71-72
- Faddists, 71-72
- Failure of the present system of education, 59-60, 141-142
- Fatigue, The question of, 134-135
- Feeble-mindedness in schools, 78-80
- Feeding of school children, 84-85
- Finlay-Johnson, Miss, 132, 191
- Fisher, Mrs. D. C., 209
- Formal training theory, 20, 120-122
- French schools, 37
- Freudian theory of sex, 233-234
- Froebel, 24-27
- Function of the school, 30-31, 149-151, 189, 192
- Games, 86-88, 193-196
- George Junior Republics, 266-268
- Germany, Vocational schools in,
- Halliday, H. M., 80
- Havelock Ellis, 90
- Herbart, 24
- Holmes, Edmond G. A., 124, 208
- Huxley, 28
- Idealism in vocational schools, 156-158
- Imagination, Value of, 136
- Imagination and sex, 241-242
- Immorality in schools, 231-232, 242
- Individual child study, 66-71, 284-285
- Industrial revolution and education, 27, 148
- Influence of mind upon body, and body upon mind, 90, 134
- Interest and instinct, 111-114, 130-133
- Japan, Education in, 287-288
- Kyoiku-Kai, 287-288
- Lane, Mr. Homer, 269-278
- Little Commonwealth, The, 265-279
- Managers and school management,
- Manual training and defects in present system, 151-153
- Mechanical proficiency fallacy, 122-125
- Medical inspection of schools, 45, 81-84
- Mentally defective children, 76-80
- Miniature adult fallacy, 110
- Modern tendencies in education, 34-35
- Modern theories of education, 9-35
- Montagu, Mr. George, 266
- Montessori, Dottoressa Maria, 27, 98-110
- Montessori method, Criticisms of, 100
- Moral education, 217-218, 224
- Mosso, Prof., 199
- Mortality of children, 13, 92-93
- Mothercraft, Importance of, 81
- Motor activity, Importance of, 199-200
- Munich, Vocational training in, 142-144, 159-162
- National Union of Teachers, 250-251
- Naturalistic theory, 22
- Nature and the child, 111
- Nature—the true basis of education, 11-13, 73, 114-116
- Neo-disciplinary theory, 19-21
- Obedience, 206, 214, 220
- Open-air schools, 96

- Opposition to reform in education, 16-17
- Parents' responsibility for sex instruction, 232, 245
- Personality discouraged in schools, 58-59
- Pestalozzi, 24
- Physical deterioration, 93-94
- Physical exercises, Failure of, 87-88
- Play instinct, The, 111
- Present state of education in England, 36-65
- Psycho-analysis, 67
- Punishment, 209
- Reason, The faculty of, 132
- Religion in schools, 62, 239-240
- Results of compulsory education, 59-60
- Rousseau and the naturalistic school, 22
- Salaries of teachers, 259
- School clinics, 82-83
- School playgrounds, 193-198
- Schools, model and otherwise, 46-52
- Science and education, 65-91
- Scientific tendency in education, 28
- Self-expression and self-realisation, 118, 207, 222
- Self-government in schools, 225-227 (*see also* "Little Commonwealth")
- Senses, Importance of, in education, 35, 106
- Sex and education, 230-249
- Sex, Modern theories of, 90, 232-234
- Size of classes, 258
- Snedden, Dr. D. 154
- Sociological tendency in education, 29-31
- Specialisation in industry and its effects upon character, 138-139
- Spencer, Herbert, 28
- Student-teacher system, The, 253
- System in education, 10, 15, 34, 54-58
- Taste, The cultivation of, 201-202
- Teacher, The, 250-261
- Teachers, An obstacle in the way of reform, 46-49
- in vocational schools, 166-167
- their defects, 251-255
- Traditionalism, the enemy of progress, 91
- Training colleges, 257-258
- Training of teachers, 255-258
- Unemployment and education, 141, 180
- Vocational bureaux, 178-179
- Vocational education, 138-181
- Woman and education, 174
- Working man, The British, 141-142, 221
- Workshop schools and school workshops, 169-172
- Wurtemberg, Vocational schools in, 144, 162

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